

BOOKS ABOUT MUSIC IN RENAISSANCE PRINT CULTURE:
AUTHORS, PRINTERS, AND READERS

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ABSTRACT

Samuel J. Brannon: Books about Music in Renaissance
Print Culture: Authors, Printers, and Readers
(Under the direction of Anne MacNeil)

This study examines the ways that printing technology affected the relationship between Renaissance authors of books about music and their readers. I argue that the proliferation of books by past and then-present authors and emerging expectations of textual and logical coherence led to the coalescence and formalization of music theory as a field of inquiry. By comparing multiple copies of single books about music, I show how readers employed a wide range of strategies to understand the often confusing subject of music. Similarly, I show how their authors and printers responded in turn, making their books more readable and user-friendly while attempting to profit from the enterprise. In exploring the complex negotiations among authors of books about music, their printers, and their readers, I seek to demonstrate how printing technology enabled authors and readers to engage with one another in unprecedented and meaningful ways.

I aim to bring studies of Renaissance music into greater dialogue with the history of the book. Renaissance books about music combine text, sound, and image in ways that resonate with contemporary developments in literary, philosophical, and scientific books. I show that Renaissance writers about music grappled early on with issues that also plagued (and continue to vex) authors in all fields: engaging unknown and distant readers, writing clearly about difficult subjects, and publishing timely and commercially viable texts. Surviving copies of books by music theorists contain unusually significant evidence of intense interactions between their

producers and consumers. Textual and paratextual features introduced by authors, technical innovations by printers, and heavy annotations by readers all demonstrate each party reaching out across the page to the others. I argue that these attempts to diagnose and to solve the unique challenges of writing and reading about music constitute a critical chapter in the history of the book and in the history of music.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

cent.	century/centuries
compl.	complete
ed./eds.	edition/editions
EDIT16	<i>Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo</i> , Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche, http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/
endp.	endpaper/endpapers (the free leaf of paper the conjugate of which is pasted to the inside front or back cover)
fl.	<i>floruit</i> (approximate time of an individual's activity)
flyl.	flyleaf/flyleaves (leaves at the front or back of a volume that are neither endpapers nor supplied by the printer)
fol.	folio/folios
illeg.	illegible
ISTC	<i>Incunabula Short Title Catalogue</i> , The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/
l./ll.	line/lines
ℓ./ℓℓ.	leaf/leaves (a sheet or part of a sheet composed of two pages, a recto and verso)
m./mm.	measure/measures
no.	number
p./pp.	page/pages
<i>r</i>	recto (the front of a leaf)
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. References beginning with dates are to series B/I, <i>Recueils imprimés XVI^e–XVII^e siècles</i> , ed. François Lesure (Munich: G. Henle, 1960). References beginning with letters are to series A/I, <i>Einzeldrucke vor 1800</i> , 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–2003). References to writings about music are to series B/VI, <i>Écrits imprimés concernant la musique</i> , ed. François Lesure, 2 vols. (Munich: G. Henle, 1971). Series A/I and B/I are searchable at http://www.rism.info/ .

s.d.	<i>sine dato</i> (no date of publication given)
s.l.	<i>sine loco</i> (no place of publication given)
s.n.	<i>sine nomine</i> (no name of printer or publisher given)
sig.	signature/signatures (the letter assigned to a gathering, typically by sequence)
t.p.	title page
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> , http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/search
v	verso (the back of a leaf)
VD16	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , BibliotheksVerbund Bayern, http://www.gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html
vol.	volume/volumes

LIST OF LIBRARY SIGLA

A-Gu	Universitätsbibliothek (Graz, Austria)
A-Wn	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna, Austria)
B-Ac	Koninklijk Conservatorium (Antwerp, Belgium)
B-Bc	Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles (Brussels, Belgium)
B-Gu	Universiteitsbibliotheek (Ghent, Belgium)
B-Lc	Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royal de musique de Liège (Liège, Belgium)
CH-BEsu	Universitätsbibliothek (Bern, Switzerland)
CH-Sk	Archives du chapitre de la Cathédrale (Sion, Switzerland)
CH-SGs	Stiftsbibliothek (St. Gallen, Switzerland)
CH-SO	Historische Musiksammlung, Zentralbibliothek (Solothurn, Switzerland)
CH-Zz	Musikabteilung, Zentralbibliothek (Zurich, Switzerland)
CZ-Bm	Moravské zemské muzeum, oddělení dějin hudby (Brno, Czech Republic)
D-B	Musikabteilung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, Germany)
D-DI	Studienbibliothek (Dillingen an der Donau, Germany)
D-HAu	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Sachsen-Anhalt (Halle, Germany)
D-Mbs	Musiksammlung, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich, Germany)
D-Mu	Universitätsbibliothek, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich, Germany)
D-OB	Bibliothek, Benediktinerabtei (Ottobeuren, Germany)
D-SI	Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Stuttgart, Germany)
D-W	Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany)
E-Bbc	Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona, Spain)
E-Mn	Departamento de Música y Audiovisuales, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Spain)

E-Msi	Biblioteca de San Isidoro, Universidad Complutense (Madrid, Spain)
E-SA	Archivo y Biblioteca de la Catedral de Salamanca (Salamanca, Spain)
F-ASOlang	Bibliothèque musicale François Lang (Asnières-sur-Oise, France)
F-Pm	Bibliothèque Mazarine (Paris, France)
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris, France)
F-TLm	Bibliothèque Municipale (Toulouse, France)
GB-Cfm	Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, UK)
GB-Cjc	St. John's College, Cambridge University Library (Cambridge, UK)
GB-Cu	Cambridge University Library (Cambridge, UK)
GB-Gu	University Library (Glasgow, UK)
GB-Lbl	The British Library (London, UK)
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music (London, UK)
GB-R	University of Reading Library (Reading, UK)
I-Ac	Fondo Antico, Biblioteca Comunale (Assisi, Italy)
I-Bc	Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna, Italy)
I-Bu	Biblioteca Universitaria (Bologna, Italy)
I-Fc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica "Luigi Cherubini" (Florence, Italy)
I-Fm	Biblioteca Marucelliana (Florence, Italy)
I-Fn	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Florence, Italy)
I-Fr	Biblioteca Riccardiana (Florence, Italy)
I-FOc	Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi (Forlì, Italy)
I-LOcl	Biblioteca Comunale Laudense (Lodi, Italy)
I-Mc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica "Giuseppe Verdi" (Milan, Italy)
I-MOe	Biblioteca Estense (Modena, Italy)
I-Nc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella (Naples, Italy)

I-OS	Biblioteca Musicale “Giuseppe Greggiati” (Ostiglia, Italy)
I-Rc	Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome, Italy)
I-Rn	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Rome, Italy)
I-Rsc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio “Santa Cecilia” (Rome, Italy)
I-Rv	Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Rome, Italy)
I-Rvat	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City, Italy)
I-TVd	Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo (Treviso, Italy)
I-Vas	Archivio di Stato (Venice, Italy)
I-Vc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio “Benedetto Marcello” (Venice, Italy)
I-Vgc	Biblioteca della Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice, Italy)
I-Vnm	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice, Italy)
NL-Au	Universiteitsbibliotheek (Amsterdam, Netherlands)
NL-Uu	Universiteitsbibliotheek (Utrecht, Netherlands)
P-Ln	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon, Portugal)
US-AAu	Music Library and Special Collections, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, MI)
US-Bp	Music Department, Boston Public Library (Boston, MA)
US-Cn	Newberry Library (Chicago, IL)
US-CAh	Houghton Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA)
US-CHH	Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Chapel Hill, NC)
US-DMurl	David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University (Durham, NC)
US-DN	Music Library, North Texas State University (Denton, TX)
US-I	Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University (Ithaca, NY)
US-LAuc	William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California (Los Angeles, CA)
US-MAL	J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, CA)

US-NH	Yale University Libraries (New Haven, CT)
US-NYp	New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (New York City, NY)
US-NYq	Paul Klapper Library, Queens College of the City University (New York City, NY)
US-PHu	University of Pennsylvania Libraries (Philadelphia, PA)
US-R	Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester (Rochester, NY)
US-Wcm	Music Division, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
US-Ws	Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, D.C.)
US-WM	Goldfarb Library, Brandeis University Library (Waltham, MA)

NOTE ON REFERENCES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

In the interest of space, all references are given in shortened form; full citations may be found in the bibliography. Page references to books printed before 1800 follow the pagination or foliation employed by the books themselves. Signatures (e.g., “sig. A1v”) refer to the specific pages of gatherings in books with absent or inconsistent pagination or foliation. Following bibliographical convention, signatures with duplicate letters are reduced simply to a number and single letter (e.g., “Aa” becomes “2A” and “bbb” becomes “3b”). The Greek letter pi (π) is assigned to a preliminary gathering that is unsigned or signed non-alphabetically; the Greek letter chi (χ) is assigned to an unsigned gathering that interrupts or follows a sequence of gatherings signed alphabetically. Multiple gatherings in these locations follow the convention for signatures with duplicate letters: e.g., sig. $2\pi 1v$ is the verso of the first leaf of the second preliminary gathering; sig. $3\chi 4r$ is the recto of the fourth leaf of the third interpolated gathering. Page or folio numbers given in brackets are implied; for example, p. [102] refers to the unnumbered page that appears overleaf the page numbered 101.

Where practical, I give English translations of documents in foreign languages in the main text, with transcriptions in their original languages given in the footnotes. Where the content of the text is the locus of interest, the transcriptions are edited to standardize letterforms and spell out all abbreviations (e.g., “ii” for “ij,” “udire” for “vdire,” and “saranno” for “farāno”); I preserve original letter case, punctuation, and diacritical marks. Where the presentation of the text is the locus of interest (e.g., in title pages or marginalia), I provide diplomatic transcriptions that reproduce the salient aspects of the original texts as closely as possible (original letterforms, scribal abbreviations, cancellations or interlineal additions, italic vs. roman typeface, letter case,

punctuation, diacritical marks). In both kinds of transcriptions, the vertical bar (|) indicates the location of a line break; a double vertical bar (||) indicates a line break with additional intervening whitespace. Square brackets indicate the addition of material not found in the original text (clarifications of meaning, descriptions of typographical features such as ornaments, borders, rules, illustrations, etc.) Where no source of a translation is identified, the translation is my own.

Musical transcriptions are given in modern clefs with an incipit that indicates original cleffing, signature, and mensuration sign. All accidentals specified in the original notation are given on the staff and are edited to conform to modern practice (i.e., when there is a flat in the signature, a *diesis* applied to a B is rendered as B[♯]). Editorial accidentals, whether for the sake of *musica ficta* or clarity, are given above the staff. Ligatures are indicated using closed horizontal brackets (—) above the staff; coloration is indicated using opened horizontal brackets (⌈ ⌋) above the staff. Abbreviated repetitions of text are expanded in angle brackets (< >); editorial additions or corrections to the text are given in square brackets ([]). Critical notes, where appropriate, are given in the captions of individual transcriptions.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In 1474, the Venetian scribe Filippo de Strata issued a memorandum to the Doge of Venice, Nicolò Marcello. Johannes Gutenberg's "ars scribendi artificialiter" had arrived there in 1469 from Germany and Rome, touching off an economic boom in the book trade. Only five years later, Filippo offered a bleak assessment of the situation:

Indeed, writing, which brings in gold for us, should be respected and held to be nobler than all goods, unless she has suffered degradation in the brothel of the printing presses. She is a maiden with a pen, a harlot in print... This is what the printing presses do: they corrupt susceptible hearts. Yet the (let us say) silly asses do not see this, and brutes rejoice in the fraudulent title of teachers, exalting themselves with a song like this (be so good as to listen): "O good citizens, rejoice: your city is well stuffed with books. For a small sum men turn themselves into doctors in three years. Let thanks be rendered to the printers!" Any uncultured person without Latin bawls these things. I propose a very different song: "Never has the city had so small a number of books as at this time, or even of people wanting books." The printing presses are giving us a city without cash and without a heart. If you are the kind of person who expects light to come to you out of darkness, then it will come to you from printed books.¹

Of course, an ulterior motive lurked behind Filippo's misguided attempt to persuade Venetian authorities to ban printed books and their makers from the city: the corrupting influence of the medium aside, printed books were bad news for scribes unwilling to embrace technological

¹ Strata, *Polemic Against Printing*, n.p. (adapted). "Scriptura est equidem veneranda, bonisque ferenda / Nobilior cunctis, quae nobis congerat aurum, / Ni sit prostibulo stamparum turpia passa. / Est virgo haec penna: meretrix est stampificata. / [...] / Sic faciunt stampae: corrumpunt corda tenella. / Non tamen ista vident fatui (dicamus) aselli, / Sed falso gaudent doctorum nomine bruti, / Et cantu simili tollunt se, quod pius audi: / O bone civis, ova: libris urbs est bene fulta. / Pro paucis ummis doctores sunt tribus annis. / Gratia reddatur stampantibus! Absque Latino / Haec tonant omnis iners. Contraria carmina pono: / Tam modico numero nunquam fuit urbs sicut isto / Tempore librorum, vel libros sat capientum. / Urbem dant stampae sine nummis et sine corde. / Si tibi lux tenebris venit, haec veniet tibi stampis." I-Vnm, MS It. C.II.3, n.p.

change. Filippo's letter unwittingly bears witness to the irrevocable impact of printing technology on communication, knowledge, and learning during the Renaissance.

In this dissertation, I assess the relationship between Renaissance books about music and the dissemination of printing technology. By "books about music," I mean printed books that explore substantially the topic of music in any kind of discursive or literary framework (treatise, dialogue, letters, primer, method, poetry, etc.). This definition includes both entire works devoted to the subject of music and extended discussions of music in books ostensibly about other subjects. This definition does not encompass brief discussions of, or passing references to, music in longer works, although I do consider these from time to time in this dissertation. For example, I do not consider either Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (RISM 1507⁵) or John Day's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562) to be books about music simply because they include short primers on playing the lute or on singing the psalms. Instead, I view both of these as "books of music," by which I mean printed books consisting entirely or mostly of musical texts, whether destined for performance, study, or some other use. Although I consider books about music and books of music to be separate classes of music books, during the Renaissance there existed a mutually dependent relationship between them; this is an important theme I pursue in this dissertation.

I argue that Renaissance books about music as material artifacts provide extensive evidence of intense interactions among their producers, distributors, and consumers. This thesis challenges a number of assumptions common in music scholarship: (1) that books in general, and books about music in particular, are neutral vehicles for containing ideas, and that the medium is distinct from the messages they transmit; (2) that printing technology ossified patterns of textual transmission by virtue of disseminating at once many identical copies of a text; and (3) that the

nature of authorship and the process of writing was divorced from concerns about the dissemination and reception of the works that resulted. Books about music have yet to play a significant role in the literature on music and print culture during the Renaissance. I show, however, that books about music provide far greater evidence of use and reader engagement than books of music and thus are important sources for studying the history of all kinds of music books during the Renaissance. The primary category of evidence that I consider is the bibliographical analysis of the material condition of surviving copies of Renaissance books about music. Over the course of three years, I conducted an international survey of Renaissance books about music at a number of major repositories. By comparing multiple copies of single books about music, I show how readers employed a wide range of strategies to understand the often confusing subject of music. Similarly, I show how authors and printers responded in turn, making their books more readable and user-friendly while attempting to profit from the enterprise. In exploring the complex negotiations among writers about music, their printers, and their readers, I seek to demonstrate how printing technology enabled authors and readers to engage with one another in unprecedented and meaningful ways.

These attempts to diagnose and to solve the unique challenges of writing and reading about music constitute a critical and little-examined chapter in the history of the book. This dissertation contributes to a growing body of literature that integrates early-modern music and print culture into a rich and more general historical context. My research complements previous scholarship through close attention to the material condition of surviving exemplars, which testify to developments in the reading practices of professional musicians and lay audiences during the sixteenth century. Similarly, this dissertation contributes to discussions of the relationships between books about music and books of music, showing how both functioned

within the wider marketplace of print. Renaissance books about music combine text, sound, and image in ways that resonate with contemporary developments in literary, philosophical, and scientific books. I show that Renaissance writers about music grappled early on with issues that also plagued (and continue to vex) authors in all fields: engaging unknown and distant readers, writing clearly about difficult subjects, and publishing timely and commercially viable texts. The introduction of textual and paratextual features by authors, technical innovations by printers, and heavy annotations by readers all demonstrate each party reaching out across the page to the others.

I propose that these interactions occurred by means of a communications circuit, a concept first theorized by Robert Darnton and refined by scholars such as Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, Roger Chartier, and Adriaan van der Weel.² The communication circuit is “a general model for analyzing the way books come into being and spread through society” (67). The path of the circuit follows the possession of textual artifacts, from authors, editors, publishers, printers, shippers, booksellers, binders, and finally to readers. At the center, shaping the entire process, are three overarching and overlapping factors: the intellectual, economic, and political frameworks in which books existed (68). The most important feature of this model is its circularity, the necessity of individuals to assume multiple roles as producers, distributors, and consumers of texts. Darnton argues that awareness of this cyclic process prompted specific reactions from individuals, changes to their behavior, which are the proper subject of the history of printed books:

² Darnton, “What is the History of Books?” (subsequent page references given parenthetically in-text); Adams and Barker, “A New Model for the Study of the Book”; Chartier, “Laborers and Voyagers”; and van der Weel, “The Communications Circuit Revisited.” See also Darnton, “‘What is the History of Books?’ Revisited”; and Iser, “Interaction between Text and Reader.”

It [the communications circuit] transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printed characters and back to thought again. Book history concerns each phase of this process and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural, in the surrounding environment...But the parts do not take on their full significance unless they are related to the whole, and some holistic view of the book as a means of communication seems necessary if book history is to avoid being fragmented into esoteric specialization, cut off from each other by arcane techniques and mutual misunderstanding. (67)

At the core of this dissertation are analyses of three central figures in the communication circuit surrounding Renaissance books about music: the author, the printer, and the reader. My goal is to capture something of the dynamism inherent in these roles—that is, I hope not only to show what it meant to be an author, printer, or reader of books about music during the Renaissance, but also to show how authors acted as publishers and readers; how printers acted as authors and readers; and how readers acted as authors and publishers. In this chapter, I provide an introduction to Renaissance books about music themselves, surveying their geographical and chronological dissemination, their general content, and their historical development. I then turn to a review of the literature on Renaissance writings about music and print culture. Finally, I provide a summary of each chapter and trace the lines of argument that connect these chapters.

Books about music and incipient print culture

At the time of Filippo de Strata's letter, music was making only its first tentative steps into the world of commercial printing. Before the emergence of Ottaviano Petrucci's press at Venice around 1500, musical notation and discussions of music appeared in a small number of printed books. Mary Kay Duggan has identified 270 music incunabula, which represent less than one

percent of the estimated total of 28,000 incunabular editions.³ The direct reach of these books to the public was negligible, because the majority (213 editions) were books of liturgical music destined not for lay readers or musicians, but for the libraries of cathedrals, parishes, monasteries, convents, and courts—and possibly a few collectors.

The remaining fifty-seven music incunabula were books about music. These and their early sixteenth-century counterparts were the first music books to reach a wider public.⁴ Scholars have yet to consider that printed books about music shaped public perceptions of music and conditioned the marketplace for printed music, even before it was available to most readers. Prior to the dissemination of printing technology, the subject of musical practice (as distinguished from the study of music as a member of the quadrivium) was studied by few non-musicians; rather, serious discourse about musical practice circulated within the limited sphere of its practitioners and their patrons.⁵ With the dissemination of printing technology arrived the possibility of writing about music for a literate public—for novices and experts, for students and teachers, for amateurs and professionals, and most importantly for readers distant and unknown. Over a fifty-year period, roughly from 1480 to 1530, writers about music learned to embrace this new opportunity.⁶ The best such books of this period—Franchinus Gaffurius’s *Practica musicae* (1496) and Pietro Aaron’s *Toscanello in musica* (1523), for example—became the first classics of music literature, consistently reprinted and widely read throughout the sixteenth century. It

³ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 15. The ISTC (based on holdings in the British Library) has a total of 29,244 records, which include around 1,000 *cinquecentine* formerly believed to be incunabula.

⁴ Lee, “Giovanni Maria Lanfranco’s *Scintille di musica*,” 1–13 offers a useful sketch of the growth of music theory in print before 1530.

⁵ Blackburn, “Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450”; Herlinger, “Music Theory of the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries”; and Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 17–31.

⁶ The documents presented in Jeppesen, “Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz”; and Blackburn et al., *Correspondence* describe music theorists’ eager and sometimes problematic embrace of the press.

should also be emphasized that, until the birth of modern musical scholarship during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, knowledge of ancient and medieval music theory was filtered significantly through the lenses of Renaissance books about music, which were the first to consider significantly the history of musical theory and practice.⁷

The barriers to enjoying these books were the same as for any other: basic literacy, at first in Latin and later in the vernacular; and access to books themselves, whether owned or borrowed. Admittedly, for many these were not insignificant challenges.⁸ Depending on the book in question, another barrier was musical literacy, the ability to read and understand musical notation. During the course of the Renaissance, the number of standalone books designed to teach the fundamentals of musical literacy grew rapidly. Twenty-five books devoted entirely to this subject appeared before 1500, representing almost half of the incunabular books about music; over half of this subset are first editions and reprints of five foundational works on reading and singing both plainchant and mensural music.⁹ This period also witnessed the publication of the first printed dictionary of musical terminology, Johannes Tinctoris's *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (c. 1495).¹⁰ The overall purpose of such books was to promote musical literacy and basic knowledge of the subject. Tinctoris expresses this desire in the dedication of the *Terminorum* to Beatrice of Naples (1457–1508):

⁷ DeFord, "The First Historical Musicologist?"

⁸ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 108–111.

⁹ 13 editions total: Bonaventura of Brescia, *Regula musicae planae* (4 editions, 1497–1500; 18 sixteenth-century reprints); Guillaume Guerson, *Utilissime musicales regulae* (1 edition, 1495; 11 sixteenth-century reprints); Hugo von Reutlingen, *Flores musice* (3 editions, 1488–1492; no sixteenth-century reprints); Michael Keinspeck, *Lilium musice plane* (4 editions 1496–1500; 1 sixteenth-century reprint); and the anonymous *Cantorinus seu compendium musices* (1 edition, 1499; 8 sixteenth-century reprints).

¹⁰ Coover, afterword to Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 101–108 provides an approximate date of 1495, which supersedes RISM's date of c. 1473. The book itself does not provide a date of publication.

Wherefore, being a student of the most liberal art, and the noblest among the mathematical arts, namely divine music, and believing it very useful to define its terms both in principle and in detail, by which the things concerning it being understood, those who practice it may the more readily grasp its nature and its particulars, I have published the present little book, which is called with reason a dictionary of music.¹¹

Promoting musical literacy and knowledge of the subject had the benefit of removing what must have been a major obstacle to approaching more technically-oriented books about music. Indeed, books about music worked alongside short primers such as Spinacino's on playing the lute (reprinted in all of Petrucci's books of lute intabulations) in order to make books of music accessible to new readers.

The corpus of Renaissance books about music—unlike many other contemporary fields of book production, including books of music—affords a comprehensive overview. Such an overview is possible only now through the completion of a number of significant bibliographical projects such as RISM, various national bibliographies such as EDIT16 and VD16, and online union catalogs such the ISTC and USTC. During the period from 1474 to 1609, 979 editions of 516 different books about music were printed in 112 cities.¹² The size of this corpus is large enough to permit meaningful statistical analysis of its geographical and chronological

¹¹ Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 3. "Quamobrem artis liberalissimae ac inter mathematicas honestissimae: videlicet divinae musicae studiosus: nunc a substantia, nunc ab accidenti suos diffinire terminus utilissimum existimans: quibus intellectis de ea acturi facilius et naturam eius et suarum partium comprehendant, praesens opusculum quod rationabiliter diffinitorium musicae dicetur." Tinctoris, *Terminorum* (c. 1495), sig. a2r.

¹² My method for deriving these figures is given in the prefatory note to appendix two. This period is circumscribed by the availability of reliable data and by changes in theoretical discussions: 1474 witnessed the publication of the first book about music; after 1609, books about music turned to new subject matters, such as monody and harmonic theory, and became more diffuse geographically. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 17 gives slightly different figures for the period 1500–1600, based on Davidsson, *Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucke*: 611 editions of 326 books about music in 75 cities.

Table 1.1. Production of books about music throughout Europe by decade.

Decade	Total editions	First editions
1470–1479	3	3
1480–1489	13	9
1490–1499	34	26
1500–1509	60	29
1510–1519	87	39
1520–1529	55	28
1530–1539	94	47
1540–1549	95	33
1550–1559	107	50
1560–1569	75	36
1570–1579	70	37
1580–1589	91	54
1590–1599	91	50
1600–1609	104	75
Total	979	516

distribution, which is discussed here and summarized in appendix two. The books themselves also are consistent enough in topic and approach to characterize their historical development, which is discussed later in this section.

Table 1.1 analyzes patterns of production by decade during this period.¹³ One clearly sees the general growth of production from the 1470s through the 1550s, with an increase in the number editions for nearly every decade; after 1550 growth levels off, with a more-or-less consistent level of production through the end of the period. There are two exceptions to these general trends, the 1520s and the 1560s, which witnessed temporary cessations of production of books about music in Augsburg, Basel, Leipzig, Milan, Paris, Rome, Strasbourg, and Wittenberg. This was a reflection of trends in the wider book trade that resulted from prolonged religious and political conflict.¹⁴ The most dramatic illustration of the effects of conflict on the

¹³ For similar statistical surveys of the production of books of music, see Bautier-Regnier, “L’édition musicale italienne”; Carter, “Music Publishing in Italy”; and Pompilio, “Editoria musicale.”

¹⁴ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 203–225 and 249–69.

book trade was the Sack of Rome in 1527. The Sack devastated the city's robust printing industry, leading to a depression in the city's book trade in general, and the trade in music books in particular, that lasted for nearly twenty years.¹⁵ Incidentally, both the 1520s and the 1560s witnessed increased production in Nuremberg and Venice, the twin centers of the trade in books about music during the Renaissance.

Table 1.2 analyzes patterns of production by city during this period. Most cities with active presses produced books about music only sporadically. Ninety-two cities produced fewer than eleven books about music each and only a third of the books produced in these cities were first editions. That the total output of these cities accounts for only a quarter of the total production points up the importance of the most active cities. Three-quarters of all Renaissance books about music were printed in only twenty cities, the most productive of which were important trade hubs and centers of intellectual activity: Venice, Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Paris, Leipzig, Basel, and Augsburg.

At least with respect to books about music, the emphasis on Venice in scholarship on music printing is justified. Books about music printed at Venice handily outnumber their counterparts printed in other European cities. Venice was also the first market to maintain an uninterrupted output, producing at least one edition during every five-year interval starting in 1480. The production in Venice's closest competitor, Nuremberg, is consistent starting only in 1530. Every other major center of production saw intermittent bursts of activity, typically related to a single printer or publisher (e.g., the firm of Georg Rhau accounts for 59 of Wittenberg's 66 editions). This pattern emerges even more clearly when one considers the production of first

¹⁵ Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, 38–44.

Table 1.2. European cities producing the most books about music, 1474–1609. The cities named here produced at least 11 total editions; each city listed under “Other” produced fewer than 11 total editions.

City	Total editions	First editions
Venice	130	74
Nuremberg	114	30
Wittenberg	66	20
Paris	59	33
Leipzig	57	19
Basel	35	22
Augsburg	34	13
Strasbourg	28	12
Cologne	27	9
Kraków	24	12
Milan	20	13
Lyon	20	12
Rome	18	16
Erfurt	16	12
Bologna	14	10
London	13	12
Frankfurt (Oder)	13	6
Zaragoza	12	2
Rostock	11	8
Magdeburg	11	7
Other (92 cities)	257	174
Total	979	516

editions—the seventy-four first editions printed at Venice rival the total production of most cities. These first editions are dispersed evenly among the catalogs of thirty-six different Venetian printers. The Venetian market for books about music was also the most diverse, attracting many different kinds of readers by publishing books on a wide range of musical topics. Other major markets adhered rigidly to the publication of books with niche audiences. For example, most of the books about music printed at Nuremberg and Wittenberg were designed for schoolboys; those printed at Paris were designed for university students; and those printed at Basel were designed for scholars. In contrast, books about music printed at Venice were

designed for these audiences and others, including professional musicians, amateur musicians, and interested non-musicians.

The importance of any given center of production does not consist solely in its total number of editions. The number and proportion of first editions—including works that were both newly-composed and new-to-the-press—helped to define the character of local markets for books about music. For example, Nuremberg was preoccupied with the publication of reprints, releasing only thirty first editions (out of 114 editions total, about a quarter), all of them destined for schoolboys. Paris produced half as many total editions as Nuremberg, but a greater number of first editions (33 of 59 editions). Most centers with a middling level of production (between 11 and 20 total editions) released mostly new works. Upon closer examination, one sees that printers in these markets catered to local authors in way that printers in larger markets did not—for example, despite their small outputs, Bologna, Milan, and Rome present detailed pictures of highly localized approaches to printing and publishing books about music.

What did Renaissance books about music discuss? Such books comprise an astounding array of topics, some old, some new. As various scholars have noted, this topical variety makes it difficult, if not impossible, to trace the history of Renaissance music theory in chronological terms.¹⁶ Rather, it proves expedient to trace various theoretical strands, noting their development and representative works. Broadly speaking, Renaissance writers about music maintained the ancient bifurcation of musical knowledge into *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*. The former treated of the philosophical foundations of music as a member of the quadrivium, exploring the theory of number comparison mythically derived by Pythagoras and systematized

¹⁶ Dahlhaus, “Was heisst ‘Geschichte der Musiktheorie’?” famously noted that music theory resists its own history. Christensen, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 2 argues credibly that the Renaissance music theory cannot be “an intelligible and meaningful historical subject” traced chronologically.

by Boethius. The latter concerned the application of these precepts to musical sound, encompassing a great variety of topics ranging from the division of the monochord to musical composition. During the mid-sixteenth century two noteworthy topics arose outside this broad intellectual framework: instruction in musical performance and musical aesthetics.

The first printed books about music concerned *musica speculativa*, which underwent a dramatic transformation during this period. Although the inherited medieval tradition of Boethian number theory derived from Pythagoras remained a central topic, writers gradually reexamined it in response to broader intellectual shifts. Late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century texts, such as Franchinus Gaffurius's *Theoricum opus musice discipline* (1480) and Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (1537), largely viewed *musica speculativa* as the familiar study of canonic (abstract mathematical ratios and proportions) and harmonics (their manifestation in musical intervals). These theorists viewed *musica speculativa* as essential components of philosophical study and as preliminaries to practical music-making. More practically-oriented writers signaled the waning importance of ancient and medieval views on music by mentioning them only briefly, or by dispensing with them altogether. Late-sixteenth-century writers, especially those with a more scientific or mathematical orientation, began to reinvigorate Boethian number theory; Johannes Kepler's *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1596), in particular, redirected popular attention to the concept of *musica universalis*. Responding to developments in mathematics and astronomy, such writers argued for both physical and metaphysical connections between canonic and harmonics, between number and sound.¹⁷ In short, the development of *musica speculativa* paralleled the transformation of the other quadrivia (geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic) into early-modern science and mathematics.

¹⁷ Grant, "Numbers and Series" provides a survey of this general trend.

It has often been noted that the sixteenth century witnessed the first flowering of writings about *musica practica*.¹⁸ An important argument of this dissertation is the centrality of printing technology to this process, which required general increases in rates of musical literacy and in public interest in the subject. During this period, the number and complexity of practical topics within the study of music greatly increased. In spite of the heterogeneous and imprecise pictures they paint of musical practice, these books enabled Renaissance readers to understand how music was made. In addition to inculcating the rudiments of notation and singing, Renaissance books about music considered a wide range of topics, focusing especially on counterpoint, mode, and mensuration.

Counterpoint—the study of crafting polyphony—is the most frequently-encountered subject in Renaissance books about music. Among the 516 first editions published during this period, over a third discuss counterpoint substantively. The basic necessity of understanding counterpoint accounts for its prevalence as a subject of study; counterpoint allowed musicians to understand how composers assembled polyphonic textures and helped them to improvise new parts to preexisting music. Renaissance counterpoint treatises witness a basic tension between theorists of notated counterpoint (e.g., Aaron, Vicentino, and Zarlino) and improvised counterpoint (e.g., Lusitano, Santa Maria, and Montanos). No shortage of scholarly confusion has arisen from casual slippages between the two in discussions of counterpoint, especially in earlier writers like Gaffurius and Tinctoris.¹⁹ A number of texts, Giovanni Maria Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (1533) being a prominent example, suggest a messier and more intimate

¹⁸ Jeppesen, “Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz,” 3 argues that the sixteenth century saw the first “craze for music theory” (“der sozusagen musiktheoretischen Wut”).

¹⁹ Classic treatments of this subject are Bent, “*Resfacta* and *Cantare super librum*”; and Blackburn, “On Compositional Process.”

relationship between improvised counterpoint and composition that scholars have begun to explore in the past decade.²⁰

The subject of mode formed another fundamental part of a musician's training. In essence, mode partitioned musical space into discrete segments of pitches with their own distinctive characteristics. Most Renaissance writers about mode (e.g., Gaffurius, Lanfranco, Morley) continued to embrace the medieval eight-fold system, with pairs of authentic and plagal modes on four finals (D, E, F, and G). Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547) introduced a twelve-mode system, with pairs of modes on six finals (D, E, F, G, A, and C). Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558) disseminated Glarean's system more widely, aided in the process by the works of his followers, Francisco de Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (1577), Oratio Tigrini's *Il compendio della musica* (1588) and Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1592). The pattern of modal expansion was extended further in the fourteen-mode system of Illuminato Aiguino da Brescia's *Il tesoro* (1581), which added six irregular modes to the traditional eight. Even within individual camps about the number of mode, partisans disagreed over a number of related issues. Glarean and Zarlino mostly agree on the affects accorded to the modes, but disagree on their constitution, whether by species of octaves or by conjunctions of species of fourths and fifths.²¹ The classification of the diatessaron into diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic genera sparked lively discussion throughout the sixteenth century, most vividly in the debate between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano; this debate is recounted in appendix one and is examined intensively in chapters two through four. Indeed, the entire pitch system, from the largest level of the gamut to the smallest level of the comma, received unprecedented

²⁰ Cumming, "Renaissance Improvisation and Musicology" provides a useful survey of literature on the subject.

²¹ Palisca, "Mode Ethos in the Renaissance"; and Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, 165–231.

attention during this period. A great deal of discussion appeared in the pages of printed books, in which readers recorded their responses, which in turn occasioned the writing of new books.

Mensuration uniquely bridged *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*, as it involved both the study of proportions and musical notation. Nearly every sixteenth-century practical text included at least a few chapters on mensural systems (time, mood, and prolation) and gave a few musical examples. Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (1537) is viewed often as the culmination of Renaissance mensural systems, particularly in the emphasis accorded to the *tactus*; nonetheless, recent scholarship has problematized its relationship to the general development of mensural theories.²² The picture that emerges from a survey of mensuration texts during the Renaissance is one of striking variety; while most authors agree on the perfect and imperfect divisions of time, and the major and minor division of prolation, the precise interpretations and performances of actual mensural music vary.²³ This overall diversity points toward the study of mensuration as an activity that brought together the differing interests of theorists and performers: composition and performance, numbers and proportions, and notation and interpretation. General interest in mensuration should be viewed as a response to the puzzles of polyphonic music that many readers faced for the first time; whether in books of or about music, performing mensural music relied on an ability to parse and regulate time, sometimes in highly unusual ways. The most practically-minded theorists, especially Vicentino and Tigrini, focused on the needs of such readers, dismissing mensural subtleties as vestigial features of outmoded systems.

²² DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm*, 144–179.

²³ Miller, “Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi*,” 84n: “A study of the all too numerous theoretical writings of the time [on mensuration] reveals clearly that they are magnificently contradictory.”

The Renaissance also witnessed the first outpouring of books of vocal and instrumental instruction. Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529) was an early book on instrumental technique and was read by many sixteenth-century students at German Latin schools. Many of the most revealing primary sources on counterpoint, mode, and mensuration are properly performance manuals: Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego's *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535), Tomás de Santa María's *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasia* (1565), Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo* (1568), William Bathe's *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (c. 1596), Adriano Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (1609), and Francisco de Montanos's *Arte de canto llano* (1594). Conversely, many texts ostensibly about other topics, such as Vicentino's *L'antica musica* (1555) and Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (1533), yield significant insight into performance practice and organology. One particular subset of works on performance explored the subject of text underlay, a perennial concern for modern editors. Most printed books that considered the subject do so in isolated chapters (e.g., Zarlino's *Istitutioni* and Lanfranco's *Scintille*); a few manuscript sources explore the subject more extensively, Gaspar Stoquerus's *De musica verballi libri duo* (c. 1570) being the most notable.²⁴ All of these texts point up the precarious nature during this period between the various component subject matters of *musica practica*.

One final topic, prompted by the conjunction of speculative and practical matters, deserves brief mention—music criticism and aesthetics. During the Renaissance, for the first time, readers encountered classifications of composers and compositions into consistent

²⁴ E-Mn, Codex 6486, fol. 1r–40v. Further on sources about text underlay, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations*; Lewis, “Zarlino's Theories of Text Underlay”; and Rotola, introduction to Stoquerus, *De musica verballi* (1988), 1–98. The general lack of evidence on practices of text underlay leads Schubert and Cumming, “Text and Motif c. 1500” to suggest that the subject was approached inconsistently and intuitively by composers and performers.

categories (good/bad or ancient/modern).²⁵ One also encounters extended discussion of individual compositions, describing their musical features and aesthetic qualities with technical language (e.g., throughout Glarean's *Dodecachordon*). Although to my knowledge there are no single primary sources related exclusively to the criticism or aesthetics of music during the Renaissance, increasingly they became important preoccupations for theorists.²⁶ Printing technology aided in this process: as the technical vocabulary for describing music and as the volume of theoretical discourse increased, writers began to prioritize their allegiances to theoretical lineages over traditional systems of thought, which contributed to the breakdown of the distinction between speculative and practical theories of music. During the second half of the sixteenth century, a third category of music emerged called *musica poetica*, which saw aesthetics as a means of reconciling speculative and practical thought. Such texts as Gallus Dressler's *Praecepta musicae poetica* (manuscript dated 1563), Sethus Calvisius's *Melopoia* (1592), and Joachim Burmeister's *Musica poetica* (1606) drew comparisons between musical composition and oratory, suggesting ways of composing, performing, and analyzing music with reference to codified sets of rhetorical figures. Another significant observation is that—although the separate publication of speculative and practical texts persisted during the Renaissance—one finds for the first time speculative and practical topics treated in the same volume: for example, Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558), Francisco de Salinas's *De musica libri septem* (1577), and Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (1613). As Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia put it in *Musica practica* (1482): “Here we do not undertake only to teach philosophers or

²⁵ For overviews of this subject, see Owens, “Music Historiography”; and Palisca, *Humanism*, 1–22. Higgins, “Musical ‘Parents’ and Their ‘Progeny’” traces the correlation of these categories to lineages of student–teacher relationships during the middle and late sixteenth century.

²⁶ Haar, “A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism” argues that Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1592) was a significant milestone in this trend.

mathematicians; anyone, provided he has learned the rudiments of grammar, will understand our books. Here mouse and elephant can swim together, Daedalus and Icarus can fly together.”²⁷

Ramis’s gambit speaks to a concern common among Renaissance writers about music, an explicit desire to establish a wide audience for their books. I argue in this dissertation that writers leveraged printing technology to achieve this end of public discourse about music. In the chapters that follow, I will show that the reasons for this were manifold. Printed books were economically advantageous: notwithstanding the drawbacks signaled early on by Filippo de Strata, they were cheaper to manufacture and potentially more directly profitable for authors than manuscripts; and they spread more widely and more rapidly along trade and shipping routes than one-off manuscripts delivered by authors and scriptoria. Printed books also were commodities that conferred authority and prestige on their writers and publishers, which helped writers to achieve a variety of career goals: securing jobs and patronage, improving their professional standings, and staking out longer-lasting legacies. This also was true about luxury manuscripts, but to a lesser degree, as printed books about music were more firmly rooted in the matrix of commerce. In order to acquire audiences, makers of books about music needed to balance intellectual, literary, and professional priorities against the economic imperative to sell books. I propose here that the ultimate success of any given book about music was characterized by a satisfactory balancing of these competing factors. That is, such books about music fulfilled at once the various needs of their authors, printers, and readers. But there was no reliable formula for success. Sometimes it resulted merely from a fortuitous confluence of individuals and personalities; other times, it resulted from trial-and-error or calculated strategy. Such books also

²⁷ Ramis, *Musica practica* (1993), 42. “Non philosophos tantum aut mathematicos instituendos hic suscipimus; quilibet modo prima grammaticae rudimenta sit edoctus, nostra haec intelliget, hic mus et elephas pariter natate daedalus et icarus pariter volare possunt.” Ramis, *Musica practica* (1482), sig. a2r.

accomplished many different aims, whether in the form of runaway sales or the pure achievement of seeing a book into print, or something else in between. In sum, I suggest that a book's success stemmed from its ideal positioning within the communications circuit. The net effect of the communications circuit was that the proliferation of books by past and then-present writers, combined with emerging reader expectations of textual and logical coherence, led to the coalescence and formalization of music theory as a field of inquiry.

Materializing theory, theorizing materiality

With this project, I aim to bring studies of the theory and practice of Renaissance music into greater dialogue with the history of the book. My emphasis here is on dialogue between these areas of study, which have developed in relative isolation from each other. The likely reason for this is the nature of musical notation, a forbidding non-alphabetic text; put simply, books of music require specialist knowledge to read and understand in ways that books on other subjects do not.²⁸ I propose that Renaissance books about music offer fertile points of connection between musicology and the history of the book. This exchange goes both ways: on the one hand, books about music provide a book-historical perspective on musical culture; on the other hand, books about music allow musicological perspectives to assume greater prominence in the history of the book. Conceiving of books about music as artifacts of a material culture is the key to this exchange. It is precisely the uniquely hybrid qualities of books about music—their juxtaposition of text, image, and music; their constant shifting between different modes of sensory engagement; and their broad range of didactic functions—that suggest new ways of thinking

²⁸ Petegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 172–76 describes the challenges of typesetting music as a non-alphabetic text; Petegree is one of the few historians of the Renaissance book to take notice of music printing.

about materiality with regard to both musicology and book history. In this section, I survey the relevant literature in these two fields, indicating how my research contributes to them, and pointing to ways that books about music can harmonize them.

The impact of printing on Renaissance musical culture is one of the pioneer fields of musicology.²⁹ Extensive reference works such as RISM and the catalogs of individual printers represent the culmination of extended bibliographical research on musical sources.³⁰ Enabled by the synoptic views in such enumerative bibliographies, musicologists in recent decades have considered the intersections of music and the concept of print culture.³¹ Similarly, interest in the history of the book and analytical bibliography has resulted in studies that consider printed books of music as material objects.³²

Writings about music occupy a precarious position within this literature. As early as 1932, books about music were considered in a separate class from books of music: “The question of music in the fifteenth-century book has a double aspect. There are books about music, and book which contain musical compositions.”³³ One finds echoes of this view as late as 1995: “[The emphasis of this book] deliberately excludes from consideration both theoretical works and liturgical books, two large categories of material which often include printed musical

²⁹ Because the literature on music printing during the Renaissance is so vast, I cite here only those studies most relevant to the exact points I wish to make.

³⁰ Bernstein, *Music Printing*; Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*; Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*; Hertz, *Pierre Attaingant*; Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*. I mention here only the most recent and most significant bibliographical studies; many Renaissance music printers have received extensive scholarly treatments.

³¹ Blackburn, “Printing Contract”; Boorman, “Early Music Printing”; Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*; and the essays in van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print*.

³² Boorman, “A Case of Work and Turn”; Lewis, “The Printed Music Book in Context”; Owens, “You Can Tell a Book by Its Cover”; van Orden, *Materialities*; and van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*.

³³ Kinkeldey, “Music and Music Printing in Incunabula,” 89.

notation...These two kinds of books are in general quite separate from music itself.”³⁴ Indeed, this was a sixteenth-century distinction; in his *Libraria* (1550), Antonfrancesco Doni lists over one hundred books of music, sorted by author, number of voices, and genre. Almost as an afterthought, Doni tacks on at the end a handful of “libri diversi composti”—that is, books about music.³⁵ This distinction, however useful, excludes from consideration a significant quantity of evidence concerning the impact of music printing on Renaissance culture. There are dozens of copies of the most historically-significant books about music, which are inversely proportional to the few surviving copies of important books of music. Furthermore, I demonstrate that the audience for books about music was broad and that their readers viewed them as books truly to be used, reading and rereading them, and most importantly writing in them.

A number of scholars have worked to establish a cultural context for Renaissance music theory, sketching out the world in which writers about music worked. These studies are less concerned with presenting definitive, all-encompassing interpretations of texts than with providing multiple avenues for considering writers about music and their works. These contexts can take many forms. For example, the treatises of Glarean and Zarlino have elicited very different interpretations that emphasize alternately the influence of humanism, religion, literary traditions, and sociopolitical institutions.³⁶ Russell E. Murray’s article on Nicolò Burzio’s biography uses newly-recovered details about his travels to situate Burzio’s *Musices opusculum*

³⁴ Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, 2.

³⁵ Doni, *La libraria* (1550), sig. F6v. For the historical and methodological problems presenting in Doni’s book, see Haar, “The *Libraria* of Antonfrancesco Doni.” Chapter five of this dissertation considers the books about music cited in Doni’s *Libraria*.

³⁶ Fuller, “Defending the *Dodecachordon*”; Judd, “Music in Dialogue”; Mengozzi, “Between Rational Theory and Historical Change”; Palisca, *Humanism*; and Westendorf, “Glareanus’ *Dodecachordon* in German Theory and Practice.”

(1487) within various local traditions.³⁷ Similarly, Colleen Reardon’s monograph on Agostino Agazzari explores how the demands of his position as *maestro di cappella* at the Siena Cathedral shaped his theories in the early seventeenth century.³⁸ Several scholars have noted that the category of “music theorist” was fluid, often overlapping with other categories such as “composer,” “linguist,” “historian,” “mathematician,” and “scientist.”³⁹ Thomas Christensen suggests that this occupational confusion is a reflection of the discursive fuzziness of theorizing about music, which he views “as a social act in which elements of performance and memory elude the fixation of textual codification.”⁴⁰ Jessie Ann Owens has argued similarly that the terms “theory,” “theorist,” and “treatise”—terms prevalent in musical scholarship—need significant refining so as not to paper over important distinctions in books about music: “Instead of catch-alls like ‘theorist’ or ‘theory,’ we need to find words that are specific to the particular activity and reflect the character of the audience and social function of the text(s) under consideration.”⁴¹

This dissertation answers several calls for the study of the impact of printing technology on Renaissance music theory. Owens notes that, although Renaissance music theory matured as a subject in the pages of printed books, the specific context of print culture has not yet played a considerable role in the history of Renaissance music theory.⁴² Building on Owens’ arguments,

³⁷ Murray, “New Documentation.”

³⁸ Reardon, *Agostino Agazzari*.

³⁹ Borgerding, “Preachers, *Pronunciato*, and Music”; Bray, “Music and the Quadrivium”; Fenlon, “Gioseffo Zarlino”; and Strauss, *Historian in the Age of Crisis*.

⁴⁰ Christensen, “Fragile Texts, Hidden Theory,” 207.

⁴¹ Owens, “You Can Tell a Book by Its Cover,” 348.

⁴² *Ibid.*

C. Matthew Balensuela has called for the study of “the way in which the technology of printing changed the content of music theory texts.”⁴³ Christensen similarly highlights a need for greater methodological reflection on the materiality of music-theoretical discourse: “Printed books can make, order, and constrain knowledge. The book is not always an innocent transmitter of facts; rather, print sometimes can determine and delimit what is appropriate knowledge that can be contained within its discursive borders—constraints that have varied over time or genre of publication.”⁴⁴ I also aim to consolidate the diverse perspectives of a handful of studies that address this and related subjects. These include, for example, studies of the iconographical significance of title pages and historiated initials.⁴⁵ Tim Carter has noted the close association of certain music theorists with music printers.⁴⁶ Bonnie J. Blackburn has explored the subject of publishing in the voluminous correspondence of the music theorist Giovanni Spataro.⁴⁷ Similarly, a recent essay Bernhard Kölbl paints a detailed picture of Glarean’s involvement in the printing and publishing of his *Dodecachordon* by comparing stop-press corrections with Glarean’s manuscript notes in his personal copy.⁴⁸ A recent collection of essays edited by Iain

⁴³ Balensuela, “*Ut hec te figura docet*,” 108.

⁴⁴ Christensen, “Fragile Texts, Hidden Theory,” 198.

⁴⁵ Haar, “The Frontispiece”; and Lopez-Pelaez Casellas, “Sobre la capital iluminada.”

⁴⁶ Carter, “Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music.” See also Carter, “Cerberus Barks in Vain”; and Carter, “E in rileggendo poi le proprie note.”

⁴⁷ Blackburn, “Publishing Music Theory.” See also Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*.

⁴⁸ Kölbl, “Musiktheorie in Druckpresse und Hörsaal.” See also Kölbl, *Autorität der Autorschaft*; and Kölbl, “The Politics of Dedication.” Further on the printing history of Glarean’s treatise, see Calella, “Die Ideologie des Exemplum”; Miller, “The *Dodecachordon*: Its Origins and Influence”; and Sauerborn, “Der Humanist Heinrich Glarean.”

Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote considers broadly the role of books and print culture in the life and works of Heinrich Glarean.⁴⁹

The most substantial study on the subject to date is Cristle Collins Judd's *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (2000), which explores the ways that music printing "betokened an irreversible change in the interplay of music theory, practice, printed repertories, and communities of readers."⁵⁰ Judd's wide-ranging book examines the textual and repertorial sources for the musical examples in a number of seminal theoretical treatises, showing how music printing afforded theorists unprecedented access to entire repertories of music. Although not couched in such terms, Judd's book provides an excellent illustration of the effects of Darnton's communication circuit within Renaissance music theory. That is, her book focuses on the changes in authorship that resulted from writers about music becoming self-aware as consumers and readers of printed music. Judd's research suggests many avenues for further study of the nature of Renaissance books about music. This dissertation complements Judd's work by addressing two of these. First, I emphasize the importance of non-authorial readership in shaping the development of Renaissance music discourse. What was the social function of books about music after they left the printer's shop? How did writers about music adapt to the prospect of writing for new and unknown audiences? Second, I locate Renaissance books about music within a material culture wherein form and content are inextricably linked in the production of meaning. Inspired by Judd's early advocacy of a materialist approach within musicology, I propose a conceptual shift away from considering texts as transmitters of ideas and toward examining books as material objects. In what ways did authors and printers communicate

⁴⁹ Fenlon and Groote, *Heinrich Glarean's Books*.

⁵⁰ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 31.

meaning nonverbally through the physical and bibliographical forms of their books? How did readers interact with these forms?

Readership and materiality have emerged as important areas of research within musicology. In response to the flourishing of marginalia studies in other areas of Renaissance history, a number of music scholars have considered readership and annotations in Renaissance music books.⁵¹ Studies of booklists and libraries have drawn attention to collectors of historical importance, but rarely consider how the contents of these libraries witness the specific reading habits of their owners.⁵² A recent monograph by David Greer surveys a broad corpus of early English printed music, outlining the kinds of marks left behind by particular groups of readers.⁵³ An article by Richard Wistreich calls attention to the rigors of musical reading practice by exploring how musicians interacted with notation (in print and manuscript) in the act of performance.⁵⁴ The recent spate of scholarship on Heinrich Glarean includes several path-breaking studies on the subject of marginalia in books about music. The most notable of these is the essay coauthored by Inga Mai Groote, Bernhard Kölbl, and Susan Forscher Weiss, which provides evidence for Glarean's lecture notes in the form of annotations in his students' textbooks.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Weiss has outlined a broad approach to understanding marginalia in

⁵¹ General studies of marginalia and readership include the following: Cavallo and Chartier, *A History of Reading in the West*; Chartier, *The Order of Books*; Grafton, "Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise?"; Jackson, *Marginalia*; Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for Action"; Manguel, *A History of Reading*; Myers et al., *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading*; Sherman, *Used Books*; and Stoddard, *Marks in Books*.

⁵² Bernstein, "The Bibliography of Music"; Fenlon and Groote, "Heinrich Glarean's Books"; Ongaro, "The Library"; and van Orden and Vitolo, "Padre Martini." Further studies are cited in appendix three.

⁵³ Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*.

⁵⁴ Wistreich, "Using the Music." See also Richards and Wistreich, "Voice, Breath, and the Physiology of Reading." I am grateful to Prof. Wistreich for sharing a copy of this essay in advance of its publication.

⁵⁵ Groote et al., "Evidence for Glarean's Music Lectures." See also Groote, "Studying Music and Arithmetic with Glarean"; Groote and Kölbl, "Glarean the Professor and His Students' Books"; and Lütteken, "Humanismus im Kloster."

Renaissance music textbooks.⁵⁶ The primary limitation of this research is its intensive restriction to sources annotated heavily by well-known, or at least identifiable, figures. I build on this research by considering a wider range of sources, including those annotated in varying degrees and by lesser-known and even anonymous figures. I thus show how developments in printing technology shaped the ways that books about music were read, sketching out a basic background for Renaissance notions of musical readership and literacy that has not been attempted previously. This study will complement recent work by Adam Whittaker on the intersection of reading history and musical exemplarity and in medieval music theory.⁵⁷

Music scholars also have focused attention on the role that books of music played in Renaissance material culture. A 2012 issue of the journal *Renaissance Studies* was devoted to the subject of musical materials and cultural spaces. In his introduction to the issue, Richard Wistreich argues for the importance of attending to the material features of music books:

For all their highly specialized attributes, then, it should now be clear that music books are nevertheless deeply embroiled in the full complexity of book culture, and thus subject to the entire range of materialities that constitute the “new bibliographical” dimension and its discourses. Music books are in many ways just like other kinds of books, and not just in their outward form: like any other written or printed texts, they are material products of, and participants in, particular geographical, social, political and intellectual structures; and as such, they are thus potent sources for the investigation of many kinds of “cultural spaces.”⁵⁸

For Wistreich, the material features of music books have the potential to inform scholarly conceptions of the material features of all books. Kirsten Gibson’s article in the same issue provides a case in point, showing how the copious front and back matter in John Dowland’s *First*

⁵⁶ Weiss, “Vandals, Students, or Scholars?”

⁵⁷ Whittaker, “Musical Exemplarity.” I am grateful to Dr. Whittaker for sharing his valuable and ongoing research with me.

⁵⁸ Wistreich, “Introduction,” 4.

Booke of Songes or Ayres shaped its readers' understandings of the music by placing the book in specific sociocultural contexts.⁵⁹ I seek to extend this area of inquiry to books about music; because they consisted mostly of prose, such authorial constraints on readers are far more pervasive in books about music than in books of music.

In two recent books, Kate van Orden aims to consolidate much of this recent scholarship on the intersections of Renaissance music, material culture, and the history of the book. In *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (2014), van Orden traces how notions of musical authorship developed alongside the advent and maturation of music printing. She examines in particular "the factors that conjoined to separate 'composers' from other musicians and turn them into the 'authors' that are so central to our histories [of Renaissance music]." ⁶⁰ Particularly of note is her attempt to revise author-centric historical narratives within musical scholarship, suggesting instead books as a profitable site for investigating historical change. Van Orden takes up this challenge in *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2015), which traces the production and reception of printed sixteenth-century chansonniers along the communications circuit, considering how such books were designed to accommodate the needs of their owners, which included professional musicians, amateur singers and instrumentalists, and interested non-musicians.⁶¹ Van Orden emphasizes the material alterity of Renaissance books of music, which stood apart from other kinds of books in their distribution of polyphonic musical texts into separate spaces on the page and even into different volumes. I follow van Orden's embrace of readership, investigating how the pages of

⁵⁹ Gibson, "The Order of the Book."

⁶⁰ van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 12.

⁶¹ van Orden, *Materialities*, 34 does mention the communications circuit explicitly, although it is not a central concept in the book.

books about music preserve interactions among their authors, printers, and readers. I propose that the material qualities of books about music merged the material qualities of books of music and of other books, allowing us to draw more meaningful connections between all kinds of books during the Renaissance.

This body of musicological literature is premised on the work of book historians and bibliographers who have examined the impact of printing technology on discourse during the Renaissance. Lucien Febvre's and Henri-Jean Martin's *L'apparition du livre* (1958, translated as *The Coming of the Book*, 1976) introduced the argument that printing technology dramatically shaped the nature of the written word, and that the medium of print restructured the nature of thought and writing. Marshal McLuhan argued further that printing technology effected fundamental changes on language itself (e.g., "typography tended to alter language from a means of perception and exploration to a portable commodity").⁶² Walter Ong provided more nuanced arguments that writing restructures consciousness and that the advent of printing technology led to a dominance of literate culture.⁶³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (1979) encapsulated this previous scholarship, demonstrating the role that printing technology played in various social, intellectual, and political changes such as the humanist classical revival, early-modern science, and the Reformation. Although scholars have accepted the general premise that printing technology changed something in writers and readers, exactly what was transformed and

⁶² McLuhan, *Gutenberg Galaxy*, 161.

⁶³ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 78–138. Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure* provides an extended critique of Ong's argument.

the nature of this transformation have been serious points of contention.⁶⁴ Even basic nomenclature—“book,” “literacy,” and “print,” for example—remains problematic.⁶⁵ Despite their clear heuristic value, binary oppositions also have presented challenges, especially orality versus literacy and print versus manuscript.⁶⁶ Indeed, a few scholars have suggested that the advent of printing technology has been overemphasized to the detriment of, for example, medieval *scriptoria* or the acceptance of the codex (as opposed to the scroll) during the fourth century.⁶⁷

Integrating McLuhan’s and Ong’s lines of reasoning with bibliographical study, Paul F. Grendler has argued for a close relationship between the material form a book and its content.⁶⁸ Subsequent scholarship has shown that these relationships resist neat categorization. For example, Joseph A. Dane has suggested that the meaning behind correlations of form and content has been overstated, demonstrating both that small-format editions (octavo and duodecimo) were not necessarily cheaper to produce, and that gothic and italic typefaces were not more economical to set than roman equivalents.⁶⁹ In any case, the notion that the form of a book shaped or constrained the actions and thoughts of those who interacted with it remains an

⁶⁴ Critiques and refinements of Eisenstein’s work are given in Dane, *Myth of Print Culture*; Grafton, “The Importance of Being Printed”; and Johns, *Nature of the Book*. See also “AHR Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?,” with contributions by Eisenstein, Grafton, and Johns; and Eisenstein’s rebuttal in *Printing Revolution*, 313–58.

⁶⁵ Calinescu, “Orality in Literacy”; Dane, *What is a Book?*; Eisenstein, *Printing Press* 3–6; and Johns, *Nature of the Book*.

⁶⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 9; Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture*, 10–31; and Nellhaus, “Mementos of Things to Come.”

⁶⁷ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, 14–20; and Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, 23–27.

⁶⁸ Grendler, “Form and Function.”

⁶⁹ Dane, *What is a Book?*, 44–46 and 124–25; and Dane, *Out of Sorts*, 57–71 (chapter 3, “Voodoo Economics of Space: From Gothic to Roman”).

important and underexplored principle.⁷⁰ As Roger Chartier puts it, “any comprehension of a text is necessarily dependent on a knowledge of the material forms it has taken.”⁷¹

This study considers for the first time Renaissance books about music from the bibliographical perspective of book history. I show that books about music manifest important developments in the material forms of Renaissance books writ large. Many such developments in books about music—for example, the forms of title pages, the presentation of illustrative material and its integration with prose, and textual constraints on reading—closely follow, and even anticipate, similar developments in books on other subjects. In other words, books about music pioneered solutions to problems in shaping the material forms of Renaissance books. This inverts a familiar trope in musicological scholarship, which proposes that music was a latecomer to the press. Instead, I show that books about music were among the earliest significant illustrated books on technical subjects, and even pushed the boundaries of what could be illustrated. Furthermore, as hybrids between books that contained either music or prose, books about music provide meaningful connections between the two, which allows the subject of music to assume a greater role in the history of the book. Finally, surviving copies of books about music witness the struggles between authors, printers, and readers, which provide an unusually vivid case-study for the ways that learning and communication took place through printed books during the Renaissance.

⁷⁰ Mak, *How the Page Matters* remains one of the few studies devoted to this subject. Only a few humanistic studies have considered the large body of scholarship on the physiology of reading; Iser, *The Act of Reading* remains the best response to scientific studies of reading.

⁷¹ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, 5.

Chapter overviews

This dissertation considers how different members of the communications circuit shaped and were shaped by a core repertory of texts by seven authors: Ghiselin Danckerts, Franchinus Gaffurius, Heinrich Glarean, Vicente Lusitano, Oratio Tigrini, Nicola Vicentino, and Gioseffo Zarlino. Chapters two through four examine in turn each member of the communications circuit. Each of these chapters is divided roughly in half. The first half surveys generally how these groups of individuals shaped the material, bibliographical forms of books about music. The second half considers specific books about music in detail, placing them in more localized social contexts—the author’s desk, the printer’s shop, and the reader’s study.

Chapter two considers books about music from the perspective of their authors. I begin with a summary of the textual and material evolution of Renaissance books about music, considering their characteristic features. I then explore the role of print in the famous debate between Lusitano and Vicentino. I show how the works of Lusitano, Vicentino, and Danckerts (a judge in the debate) served each party in different ways and how the reception of their works was conditioned by the material forms they assumed. Finally, I consider the transformation of Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Le institutioni harmoniche* through three editions, showing how it only gradually adapted to reader expectations about the shape of printed books. By showing how publication strategies built on complex, multilayered balances of risk and reward, this chapter offers a complementary perspective to recent scholarship on the publishing habits of Renaissance musicians of various kinds.⁷²

⁷² Bernstein, “Publish or Perish?”; Blackburn, “Publishing Music Theory”; Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 274–78; and van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 30–68.

Chapter three considers books about music from the perspective of their printers, broadly conceived. The chapter focuses on the ways that printers brought together authors and readers through design, typography, and marketing. I begin by proposing three archetypal designs for the layouts of books about music, showing how these signaled information to prospective buyers and readers about a book's intended audience, literary genre, and social or regional context. I then explore the struggles to print scores in books about music before 1580, examining the various technical solutions employed to accomplish this feat of typography; this section complements a recent essay by Christine Jeanneret that examines technologies for printing scores after 1580.⁷³ Finally, I discuss the subject of marketing, outlining the specific techniques that printers used to steer potential buyers to their music books. I provide both macroscopic analyses of entire markets at Rome and Venice and a microscopic analysis of a single Venetian printer, Francesco de' Franceschi Senese (Zarlino's printer of choice). I argue that books about music, by virtue of their hybridity between music and prose, helped to differentiate their printers' brands and niche audiences. The unifying theme of this chapter is the conveyance of meaning nonverbally on the printed page.

Chapter four considers books about music from the perspective of their readers. The chapter begins with two sections that outline broad patterns in the ownership and use of books about music. These sections present evidence to answer longstanding questions about Renaissance books about music. Who typically owned them? How did readers use them? On the basis of this evidence of how readers used their books about music, I provide a new assessment of musical literacy during the Renaissance, focusing on the ways that readers derived meaning from musical examples. I propose four broad functions for musical examples, diverse ways of

⁷³ Jeanneret, "The Score as Representation."

construing meaning from the perspective of aesthetic reader response. These functions call for a rethinking of what it meant to read musical notation during the Renaissance.

Chapter five ties together the various strands considered in the previous chapters by showing how individuals along the communications circuit blended their roles as authors, printers, and readers as they participated in early-modern print culture. I also consider the broader ramifications of a book-historical approach to future scholarship on Renaissance music and print culture. Three appendices provide supplementary information. Appendix one establishes a contextual foundation for the central authors whose works are considered throughout the dissertation. This appendix outlines their lives and participation in book culture, highlighting new discoveries about their interwoven careers; it will also be a useful reference for readers unfamiliar with their biographies. Appendices two and three provide overarching surveys of the corpus of Renaissance printed books about music. Appendix two analyzes the chronological and geographical dissemination of writing about music in print, showing how many books were published during any given five-year period and in which cities. Appendix three presents information about early owners, readers, and references to a total of 224 Renaissance books about music, drawing from provenance records in library catalogs, scholarly accounts of individual libraries, and my own survey of exemplars in several major repositories. Both appendices provide crucial evidence for statistical and bibliographical analyses given in each chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: AUTHORS

“Little book, you will go without me—and I grudge it not—to the city, whither alas your master is not allowed to go!”¹ Ovid begins his *Tristia*, a collection of autobiographical letters written in exile, with an exhortation to his own book. The poet instructs his book in vivid language about its intended path toward Rome and desired imperial audience. He begins by comparing the aspects of the book of exile and the book of good omen:

Go, but go unadorned, as becomes the book of an exile; in your misfortune wear the garb that befits these days of mine. You shall have no cover dyed with the juice of purple berries—no fit color is that for mourning; your title shall not be tinged with vermillion nor your pages with oil of cedar; and you shall wear no white bosses upon your dark edges. Books of good omen should be decked with such things as these; 'tis my fate that you should bear in mind. Let no brittle pumice polish your two edges; I would have you appear with locks all rough and disordered. Be not ashamed of blots; he who sees them will feel that they were caused by my tears.²

Renaissance printed books are much like Ovid's book of exile, sent into the world to face new, uncertain, and unforeseen circumstances. Unlike Ovid, however, their authors aimed to fashion books of good omen, works well suited in form and content to the customs of their readers. Books about music followed this trend, sometimes explicitly so. Franchinus Gaffurius begins his

¹ Ovid, *Tristia and Ex ponto*, 3. “Parve—nec invideo—sine me, liber, ibis in urbem, / ei mihi, quo domino non licet ire tuo!” Ibid., 2.

² Ibid., 3 (adapted). “vade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse; / infelix habitum temporis huius habe. / nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco— / non est conveniens luctibus ille color— / nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur, / candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras. / felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos; / fortunae memorem te decet esse meae. / nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes, / hirsutus passis ut videare comis. / neve liturarum pudeat; qui viderit illas, / de lacrimis factas sentiat esse meis.” Ibid., 2.

treatise *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (1518) with an epigram similar to Ovid's, commending the book to the distinguished library of its dedicatee, the French bibliophile Jean Grolier. Here, the author and his book engage in a Horatian dialogue:³

THE AUTHOR SPEAKS TO THE BOOK: Where are you going? Why are you fleeing?
Did you hope to be able to leave your master?

BOOK: A throng of muses is calling me; the distinguished Grolier favors me with a hospitable reception and aids me with his support.

AUTHOR: Little book, you will soon be free; go now under his propitious auspices and banish grave cares of the mind. But if you are rejected you will suffer a shameful fate and I will say: never reenter our portals.⁴

This chapter explores the perspectives of authors of Renaissance books about music, considering how they adapted to the medium of print in varying ways. I begin with an overview of the material and textual transformation that books about music underwent with the advent of printing technology. I pay particular attention to distinctive textual and paratextual apparatuses, including title pages, colophons, visual decoration, indices, textual segmentation, and marginal annotations. In viewing these apparatuses as sites of social exchange between authors, printers, and readers, I echo the thinking of Roger Chartier:

Understanding the reasons and the effects of such physical devices (for the printed book) as format, page layout, the way in which the text is broken up, the conventions governing its typographical presentation, and so forth, necessarily refers back to the control that the authors but sometimes the publishers exercised over the forms charged with expressing intention, orienting reception, and constraining interpretation.⁵

³ Caretta et al., *Franchino Gaffurio*, 161–70 notes that the epigram is modeled on Horace, *Epistles*, I.20.

⁴ Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1977), 33. “Author alloquitur librum. / Quo properas? quae causa fuge? quo numine tutus / Sperasti dominum linquere posse tuum? / Liber. Musarum me turba vocat: Grolierius ipse / Excipit hospitio: praesidioque fovet. / Author. Parve liber iam liber eris: vade omine dextro / Illius & curas pectore pelle graves. / At si neglectus turpem patiēte repulsam: / Praedico: nunquam limina nostra redi.” Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1518), fol. 1r. Jean Grolier (c. 1489–1565), the book’s dedicatee, was a noted bibliophile and treasurer to the King of France (who at that time controlled Milan).

⁵ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 28. See also McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*.

I argue that these framing and organizational devices demonstrate how engineering books of good omen significantly changed how books about music were conceived as printed objects, and furthermore how music was conceived as a field of inquiry. An exploration of the writings that emerged in the wake of the debate between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano shows how these transformations were deployed in practice by three different actors with very different end-results. An assessment of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* through three different editions shows its author developed, transformed, and improved a single work by perfecting its manner of presentation.

The evolution of music theory books as printed objects

It is widely asserted that music was a latecomer to the field of printing.⁶ In chapter one, I examined the early development of books about music, which began to appear alongside books of liturgical music three decades before Ottaviano Petrucci's first books appeared in 1501.⁷ In other words, books about music adapted to the medium of print much more quickly than books of music; that is, in a way that scholars have yet consider, books *about* music set the agenda for how books *of* music operated in the marketplace. Printed books about music, long considered to behave categorically differently than printed books of music, assumed a significant role in shaping how musicians worked in and for the medium of print. In this section, I survey the transformation of music theory books as printed objects, examining the features that distinguish

⁶ For a recent rehearsal of this argument, see van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 19–22. Iain Fenlon, "Music, Print, and Society," 281–83 refines this line of argument to refer to the realization of a broader market potential for printed music, not its technical introduction or maturation.

⁷ Kinkeldey, "Music and Music Printing in Incunabula"; and Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*.

them from their manuscript counterparts.⁸ This will lay the groundwork for an examination of individual deployments of printing technology by several musicians.

Framing devices: Title pages, colophons, and visual decoration

The most significant development in books about music was the maturation of the title page, which followed broader trends in the development of title pages in general.⁹ The earliest such books began simply with a short description of the book's contents. Nicolò Burzio's treatise on music (1487) begins with a lengthy heading that describes its author, subject, and reason for composition:

Nicolai Burtij parmenfis: mufices profelloris: ac l iuris pontificij ftudiofiffimi:
mufices opufculuz inci l pit: cum defenfione Guidonis aretini: aduerfus que l dam
hyfpanum veritatis prevaricatorem.¹⁰

By Nicolò Burzio of Parma, professor of music and most learned pontifical jurist, a short work about music [*Musices opusculum*], which begins with a defense of Guido of Arezzo against a certain, truly apostate Spaniard.

Two features of this book's title are especially noteworthy: its position within the first gathering and its particular wording. The first gathering of the book begins with a blank leaf, with the text starting on the second leaf (i.e., third page) of the first gathering. Margaret M. Smith has shown that, before around 1500, most books began with a blank leaf that served two functions.¹¹

Practically speaking, the first leaf was the most fragile because it was typically the most handled; leaving it blank meant that its loss would not incur damage to the book. The blank leaf was also a

⁸ The framing of this section, especially in terms of the devices mentioned, is indebted to Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 122–35.

⁹ An excellent survey of the historical development of title pages is Smith, *Title Page*.

¹⁰ Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1487), sig. a2r.

¹¹ Smith, *Title Page*, 47–58.

conceit to collectors who preferred to decorate their printed books with more fanciful title pages, as if they were manuscripts. Indeed, the printer of Burzio's *Musices opusculum*, like many other Italian printers of the late incunabular period, left other blank spaces for the book to be decorated by hand.¹²

This is technically not a true title but an incipit; that is, an explanation of how the text begins. The title often attributed to the book, *Musices opusculum*, is not a title at all, but simply a descriptive phrase from the incipit ("a short work about music"). At this stage, Burzio, like many other authors, apparently did not discern a need to provide a title or some sort of handle for referring to the book itself.¹³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein has argued that this tendency reflects an interiority on the part of manuscript authors, concerned more with producing texts than with their use and reception; for Eisenstein, an important feature of nascent print culture is the attempt to find convenient and efficacious ways to refer an author's works.¹⁴

Colophons, unlike title pages, were a venerated tradition of manuscript books carried over by the printers of incunabula and *cinquecentine*.¹⁵ The colophon was a brief description of the facts of publication, such as the place of publication, the printer and any publishers (i.e., financiers or underwriters), and date of publication. Colophons also sometimes preserve

¹² This is how Franchinus Gaffurius tended to decorate his books. Ramis, *Musica practica* (1482) begins with a blank leaf and contains spaces for initial capitals. (Incidentally, Ramis is the Spaniard to whom Burzio responds in his treatise.) Gaffurius added to his copy (I-Bc, shelfmark A.80) a descriptive title on the blank leaf ("BARTOLOM. RAMI de PAREIA hisp. I DE MUSICA I TRACTATUS." sig. a1r) and decorative initial capitals and rubrication in red and blue ink. A highly decorative capital letter *H* (sig. a3r) uses several shades of red, blue, purple, white, and green ink.

¹³ Meconi, "Petrucci's Mass Prints," make a similar point about music printing with regard to the practice of naming of compositions and books of music.

¹⁴ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 52 and 168. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 55 argues further that reproductive technologies (whether manuscript or print) compromised the "direct and authentic relation between the author and the reader."

¹⁵ Pollard, *Essay on Colophons* remains the best survey of the subject.

information about the author's biography or the identity of any other craftsmen who contributed to the making of a volume. Burzio's *Musices opusculum* contains a colophon representative of early printed music theory books:

Impēfis Bñdicti librarij bonoñ. ac fuma industria | Ugonis de rugerij: qui
propatiffimus huius artis | exactor imp̃ffus Bonōie. Año dñi .m.cccc.lxxxvij. | die
vltima aprilis.¹⁶

Printed at Bologna with the highest industry by Ugo Ruggerio, a most skilled master of this art, at the expense of the Bolognese bookseller Benedetto, in the year of our Lord 1487 on the last day of April.

This example identifies the printer, underwriter, place and date of publication, and provides the briefest of biographical sketches for these figures.

Johannes Tinctoris' *Terminorum musiace diffinitorium* (c. 1495) reflects a later stage in the development of these framing devices. The title page of the *Terminorum* typifies the basic form of title pages found in many Renaissance books about music. The book begins on the first leaf of the first gathering with a proper title page, a self-contained page that contains a real title, that is, a heading that refers to the book itself:

TERMINORVM | MVSICÆ | DIFFINITORIVM ::¹⁷

A Dictionary of Musical Terms

In this case, the title page has become an integral component of the book as a physical object.

Tinctoris' *Diffinitorium* is unusual in its lack of a colophon, which has raised questions about the

¹⁶ Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1487), sig. I4r. The identity of the underwriter, one Bolognese bookman named Benedetto, remains uncertain. Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 203 suggests Benedetto Faelli, a bookseller (*libraio*) who fits the profile. Burzio, *Bononia illustrata* (1494) was printed by Francesco Benedetto, another possible candidate for the underwriter. Ibid., sig. E6r defends the accuracy of Benedetto's editions: "Si quid tamen in eo mendae et erroris insertum fuerit: non impressoris negligentia: sed potius famulorum incuria pretermissum putes." "Should anything faulty or erroneous have been inserted in it, you must think it was overlooked, not by any neglect of the printer, but rather by the carelessness of his workmen." Translation from Pollard, *Essay on Colophons*, 74.

¹⁷ Tinctoris, *Terminorum* (c. 1495), sig. a1r. The pair of colons is a typographical flourish that appears throughout the book.

circumstances surrounding its printing and publication.¹⁸ This basic form of the title page would come to be embellished in the following decades with various additions. The most common of these additions to the title page are the facts of publication formerly reserved for the colophon, namely the identity of the printer or publisher and the place and date of publication. Through the beginning of the seventeenth century, the facts of publication are given with equal frequency on the title page or in the back of the volume in the colophon, sometimes in both places.

Another common addition to the title page was a description of the volume's contents. In some cases, these are simple, prosaic descriptions of a work's subject matter. In other cases, these are lengthy, imaginative listings of a work's appealing attributes. These two possibilities represent the extremes of a spectrum of possibilities borne of commercial necessity. Just as titles emerged with the need to have a handy way to refer concretely to a work, descriptions of contents allowed a book's potential buyer to see at a glance what was in the book without having to leaf through or read it. An example of a simple description of subject matter comes from the full title of Oratio Tigrini's treatise:

IL | COMPENDIO | DELLA MVSICA | NEL QVALE BREUEMENTE SI
TRATTA | Dell'Arte del Contrapunto, | *DIVISO IN QVATRO LIBRI.* | *DEL R. M.*
ORATIO TIGRINI | *Canonico Aretino* | Nouamente composto, & dato in luce. |
CON PRIVILEGGIO. | [printer's device] | IN VENETIA, MDLXXXVIII |
Appreffo Ricciardo Amadino.¹⁹

The compendium of music, in which the art of counterpoint is discussed briefly, divided into four books, by the reverend Messer Oratio Tigrini, canon of Arezzo, newly composed and published with privilege at Venice, 1588 by Ricciardo Amadino.

¹⁸ Coover, afterword to Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 101–108; and Panti, introduction to Tinctoris, *Diffinitorium musice*.

¹⁹ Tigrini, *Compendio* (1588), sig. π1r.

This example provides the prospective buyer with information about the author, his qualifications, and the book's basic subject and organization. A contrasting example of a more fanciful description of contents comes from the second edition of Gioseffo Zarlino's treatise:

ISTITVTIONI | HARMONICHE | DEL REV. MESSERE | GIOSEFFO
 ZARLINO | DA CHIOGGIA, | Maestro di Capella della SERENISSIMA
 SIGNORIA di VENETIA: di | nuouo in molti luoghi migliorate, & di molti belli
 secreti | nelle cofe della Prattica ampliate || *Nelle quali; oltra le materie appartenenti
 alla MVSICA; si trouano dichiarati | molti luoghi di Poeti, Historici, & di
 Filosofi; si come nel leggerle si potrà chiaramente vedere.* || Con due Tauole;
 l'vna che contiene le Materie principali: & l'altra | le cofe più notabili, che
 nell'Opera si ritrouano || [motto and printer's device] || IN VENETIA, | Appresso
 Francesco de i Franceschi Senefe. | M. D. LXXIII.²⁰

The *Istitutioni harmoniche*, by the reverend Messer Gioseffo Zarlino from Chioggia, *maestro di cappella* of the Most Serene Republic of Venice, newly improved in many places and expanded with many beautiful secrets about practical matters. In which, beside subjects pertaining to music, are discussed many passages by poets, historians, and philosophers, as one may see clearly by reading it. With two tables, one that contains the principal subjects, and the other the more noteworthy things to be found in the work. In Venice, by Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1573.

Here the lengthy title acts in a capacity beyond a simple description of the book—it functions as advertising copy, directing attention those features of the book other than its text and principal subject. Later in this chapter, I will show that Zarlino's *Istitutioni* underwent a number of further paratextual changes, of which the title page was one small part. In this respect, the exigencies of commerce played an important role in the material and textual evolution of printed books about music during the Renaissance.

Visual decorations on the title page played a similar role in conveying the scope and importance of a book's contents. An early and enduring kind of decoration in Renaissance music

²⁰ Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1573), sig. π1r (illustrated in figure 2.9).

theory books was the portrait or representation of the author.²¹ The earliest example is Franchinus Gaffurius's *Theoricum musice opus discipline* (1480), which contains on its title page a woodcut portrait of the author seated at the organ (figure A1.1); the illustration visually represents the subject of music by superimposing the Guidonian gamut on the pipes of the organ. This in fact was among the earliest title-page woodcuts in printed books of any kind; Gaffurius was at the forefront of book-illustration in tying the portrait to the book's subject matter.²² In appendix one, I examine Gaffurius's portraits in other editions of his works, showing that they stood as representations of his authority. Many other Renaissance music theory books followed Gaffurius's lead by including portraits of their authors. Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* contains a woodcut portrait of the author teaching a roomful of students (figure 2.1), which is modeled after the portrait of Gaffurius in his *Angelicum* (1508; cf. figure A1.3).²³ Aaron is seated on a platform wearing academic regalia, his right hand propped under his chin and his left hand grasping a book atop his knee. There is no doubt as to his identity; he is seated below a banderole inscribed with his name. Behind the author is a bookshelf with four large tomes visible; the remaining volumes are covered by a curtain—all of these symbols of the exclusivity of the teacher's knowledge. Directly in front of Aaron is a bench with a *viola da braccio*, lute, small recorder, and two small, closed volumes (one oblong, one upright). The architectural and floral borders lend the scene an air of classical nobility, reinforced by the seemingly aloof, impassive

²¹ Fenlon, "Music, Print, and Society," 296 attributes the increase in woodcut portraits of composers and musicians to their popularity in theory treatises. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 232–35 traces the development of author portraits in Renaissance books in general.

²² Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 132–35 identifies sporadic examples as early as 1467, noting that woodcut illustrations did not become common until after 1490. Hind, *History of Woodcut*, 405 and 516–18 contextualizes Gaffurius's books within the vanguard of Neapolitan and Milanese book illustration.

²³ The portrait of Aaron is discussed in Vendrix, "La dialectique de l'image et du text," 108–110.

Figure 2.1. Portrait of Pietro Aaron. In *Toscanello in musica* (Venice: Bernardino and Matteo de Vitali, 1529), sig. a4v.



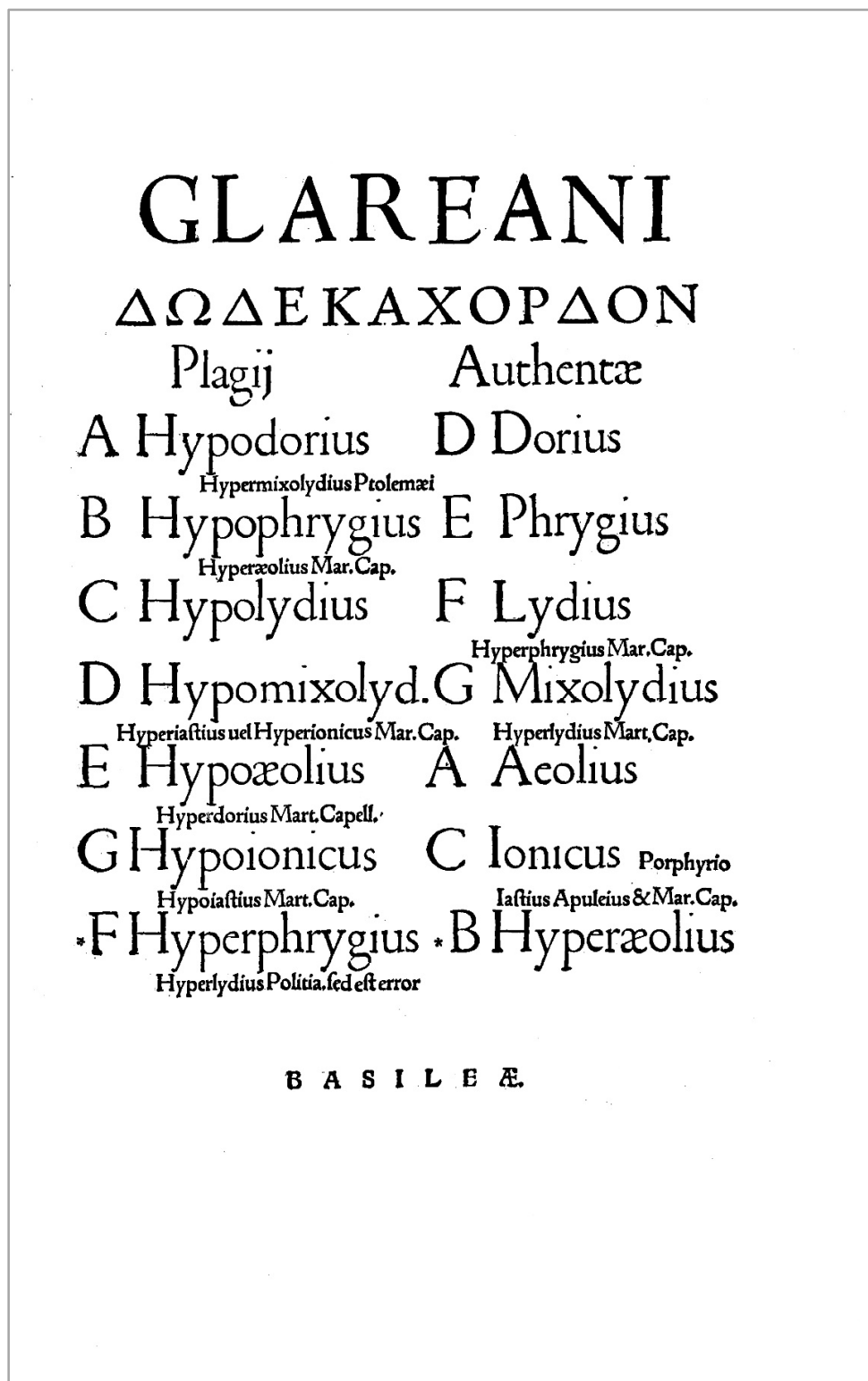
expression on Aaron's face. The heads of eleven students are apparent, but only four faces are visible. Of these, only one looks at his teacher. Similar examples of books with author portraits include Stefano Vanneo's *Recanetum de musica aurea* (1533) Aaron's *Lucidario in musica* (1545), Adrian Petit Coclio's *Compendium musices* (1552), and Vicentino's *L'antica musica* (1555).

The title page of Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547) compactly abstracts its intellectual content (figure 2.2). Below the identification of the work's author and Greek title is a representation of the modal system that the book expounds. The left-hand column records the names of the plagal modes, the right-hand column the authentic modes. In small type are the alternate names of the modes given by Apuleius, Martianus Capella, Porphyry of Tyre, Angelo Poliziano, and Claudius Ptolemy. Seven modes are given in each column, corresponding to the seven possible species of diapason; asterisks by the hyperphrygian and hyperaeolian modes indicate their rejection from Glarean's system. The title page of the *Dodecachordon* thus encapsulates the basic thesis of the book, much as lengthy prose descriptions came to stand for an advertisement of a book's contents and arguments. The clarity with which Glarean visually distilled his theories stands as a reminder of his status as an outlier among Renaissance authors of books about music—as Laurenz Lütteken notes, he “was neither a musician nor a music theorist, but a humanist” with a uniquely scholarly interest in music.²⁴

Other forms of visual decoration on title pages functioned similarly to forecast their books' contents. Especially well known is the mythological representation of the cosmos on the title page of the first edition of Franchinus Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* (1496), analyzed

²⁴ Lütteken, “Theory of Music,” 38–39.

Figure 2.2. Title page of Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547), sig. alr.



extensively by James Haar and Claude V. Palisca.²⁵ The edition of the same work published at Venice in 1512 contains a large woodcut illustration of a monastic choir singing chant before an enormous book placed on a lectern. It remains unclear whether the figure standing at the base of the lectern or the diminutive seated figure holding a small book is meant to be Gaffurius; both figures bear a passing resemblance to other portraits of Gaffurius. Similar scenes of music-making, but of a domestic variety, are found on the title pages of Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontega's *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535) and *Regola rubertina* (1542), which depict a group of two singers and three recorder players gathered around oblong music books placed on a table (*Fontegara*) and two men playing *viole da gamba* and two men singing from a single oblong music book held by one of the men (*Regola*). Ganassi's model seems to be the humorous scenes of Andrea Antico's *Canzoni novi* (RISM 1510) and *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi* (RISM 1517³).²⁶

Title pages, colophons, and visual decorations established the essence of a book's identity as a printed object. Printing technology allowed writers of books about music to see their works from an external perspective, one detached from the embodied experience of their own handwriting or the familiar appearance the working manuscript or fair copy. These framing devices afforded authors and printers an opportunity to imbue their works with distinctive visual and bibliographical profiles.

²⁵ Haar, "The Frontispiece"; and Palisca, *Humanism*, 166–78.

²⁶ van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 34–37 (including a reproduction of the latter title page on 35).

Organizational devices: Indices, textual segmentation, and marginal annotation

Changes to the framing of books about music were accompanied by changes in their organization. The introduction of indices, textual segmentation, and marginal annotations profoundly shaped the organization of books and the ideas contained in them.²⁷ At first glance, these might seem surface features, mere adornments to the textual main attraction. But their introduction, standardization, and internalization demonstrate an important change in authors' mindsets. I will show later in this chapter that, as these devices became common among printed books, authors of books about music began to craft new works around them.

Indices, like title-page descriptions, allowed prospective buyers to know what was in a book without having to read it. One type of index, the table of contents, was a traditional part of many manuscripts. Because the table of contents was a simple, sequential listing of a book's material, it was easy to produce. The earliest printed treatises begin with tables of contents. The first gathering of a book typically was the last printed, and a list of contents with page references was possible only after the body of the text had been printed. This was convenient for printers, too, who typically needed several pages of material to fill out a first gathering that would otherwise only contain the first page. Gaffurius's *Theorica*, a lengthy folio volume, provides an instructive example. The structure of the first gathering, which is unsigned, is as follows:²⁸

²⁷ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 71–159 gives a general account of this idea.

²⁸ In this and the following gathering diagrams, each horizontal line represents a leaf. The contents of the recto and verso are listed, respectively, above and below this line. Conjugate leaves are connected with vertical lines. In other words, the diagram represents what the gathering might look like from the bottom edge of the book.

Title page, portrait of Gaffurius
Errata
Table of contents
(cont.)
Blank
Dedication
(cont.)
Poem “ad lectorem”

In this case, only the errata relies on details from the rest of the book, as the table of contents does not provide page references, but merely listing each book and its chapter headings. The gathering consists entirely of material designed to frame and to organize the book as a whole, which properly begins with the second gathering (signed as *a*). From the author’s perspective, only the title page and dedication were strictly necessary; the additional material seems designed to fill out the gathering. All of these features, however, provided valuable services for the potential reader, giving an accurate idea of the book’s scope and contents after being drawn in by the large woodcut illustration on the title page. At least in principle, preliminary gatherings such as this one also could have functioned as advertising brochures for their books.²⁹ This would have been convenient for the bookseller, who needed only to place this gathering of two sheets on the shelves, while leaving the remaining thirty-two sheets in the storeroom or warehouse.

Although tables of contents continued to have a place of honor in writings about music, a new type of index emerged as an important tool for authors and readers of longer works—the alphabetical subject index. The subject index has a different *modus operandi* than the table of contents, placing at the top level of organizational hierarchy the subject itself rather than its sequence within the book. Such an index is more difficult to make, for several reasons. An alphabetical index requires the compiler to proceed exactly through the volume, recording

²⁹ McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, 88–95; and Corns, “The Early Modern Search Engine.”

both subject and page references. Then the compiler must alphabetize these. Early instances of subject indices and alphabetical tables of contents are notably imprecise, which yield insight into the techniques that compilers used to make such indices. For example, the compiler of the alphabetical table of contents in Petrucci's *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* probably partitioned some scratch paper into sections for each letter of the alphabet, then proceeded through the printed sheets or cast-off copy (manuscript prepared for typesetting) and recorded titles of compositions in the order that they occurred. As a result, the alphabetization is only approximate; for example, the first alphabetical index begins as follows: "Ave maria. folio iiii | Amours amours xii | Adieu mes amours xvii | Amours amours amours xxvi."³⁰ One finds all the compositions beginning with the letter A, or any other letter, in the order that they appear in the book. The same holds true for many other similar indices in writings about music, most notably the subject index of Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1573), which I will examine later in this chapter.

An alphabetical subject index analyzes the book in question. The mindset of its compiler is very different than that of its author, concerned more with segmentation and organization than with continuity and cohesion. I suggest here that as authors of books about music increasingly came to use indices as readers, and perhaps even to create ones for their own works, they began to produce texts that naturally lent themselves to this kind of indexing. The resultant effect is one of bursts of topical clarity rather than of winding disquisition. Indices of all kinds thus functioned as finding aids for authors and readers.³¹ Moreover, subject indices provided an opportunity for

³⁰ *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (RISM 1501), sig. A2v. The book has two alphabetical indices, one for compositions in four voices and one for compositions in three voices.

³¹ For Renaissance concepts of navigating books and large data, see Blair, *Too Much to Know*; and Ogilvie, "The Many Books of Nature."

authors and printers to showcase different, unexpected aspects of their books. The subject index of Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1573), for example, explicitly highlights the “more noteworthy things” found in the volume, lending a more attractive character to the study of music. For example, Zarlino's index contains the following entries: “The sea, not without music, page 9” and “Medicine, not too different from music, page 8.”³² In the creation of indices, authors and printers mirrored contemporary reading practices and anticipated the use of their creations; owners of manuscripts and unindexed printed books had long compiled their own indices and bound or tucked them in the fronts and backs of volumes.³³ Supplying these apparatuses preprinted made the book more approachable and usable, and thus more appealing to buyers.

The uniformity imposed by typography could be a bane as well as a boon. Entire pages of undigested prose appear as an intimidating, impenetrable blanket of text. Renaissance music theorists were fortunate to inherit a tradition of writing that encouraged, and even required, the use of examples. Such examples broke up the visual monotony of the page and offered readers welcome vantage points for scanning and reading the text. At the same time, music was a difficult subject to write about clearly, and many opted for prolixity in the face of the imprecision necessary when writing about such a numinous, evanescent phenomenon. I propose that, as Renaissance authors of books about music, like their contemporaries in other subject

³² “Mare non senza Musica. 9 [...] Medicina non può essere lotana dalla Musica. 8.” Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1573), sig. a5v.

³³ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 90–94.

areas, rethought the local and global organization of their works, they began to segment their texts into smaller units and to mark these visually by various means.³⁴

Most authors of lengthier treatises employed multiple levels of hierarchical organization. Entire works are divided into books or parts, parts into chapters, and chapters sometimes into paragraphs; even within the sometimes tortuous Latinate syntax that dominated every written European language, sentences emerged over time as cognizable units of composition and organization. Consider, for example, Burzio's *Musices opusculum* (1487) and Tigrini's *Compendio* (1588). Both are quarto-sized publications pitched as textbook-style introductions to musical practice. Obviously, being separated by a century's time, their approaches to musical practice and manners of presentation are very different. But as transmitters of texts, they are crafted in much the same way. The two books have roughly equivalent lengths, 134 and 146 pages of text respectively.³⁵ Burzio's treatise contains 63 sections of text.³⁶ Tigrini's treatise has 112 sections of text.³⁷ This reflects an increase of 78 percent in the number of sections per book, and a decrease of 64 percent in the number of pages per section (from 2.13 pages to 1.30 pages). It should be mentioned that Tigrini's treatise contains extensive illustrative material on 101 pages, whereas Burzio's treatise contains illustrative material on only nine pages; adjusting the

³⁴ The subsequent discussion is heavily indebted to M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*. See also Lewis, *The History of the English Paragraph* for a thorough history of prose composition in several European languages through the eighteenth century.

³⁵ These figures include only pages with the book's text and images, not blank pages. The two blank pages at the front of Burzio's treatise and Tigrini's title page are not included in the figures above.

³⁶ A dedicatory letter, book one in thirty chapters with an introduction, book two in six chapters with an introduction, and book three with twenty-two chapters and an introduction and conclusion.

³⁷ Two introductory letters, a collection of poems, preface, book one in twenty-five chapters with a proem, book two in twenty-five chapters, book three in thirty-two chapters, and book four in twenty-five chapters. These figures could be substantially inflated by counting the table of contents and each of the six poems individually rather than as a group.

figures accordingly would dramatize the statistical difference in their segmentation and organization. Burzio's and Tigrini's books provide representative examples of a general increase in the importance of textual segmentation for books about music during the course of the Renaissance. Moreover, these two books also furnish an especially vivid illustration of the changes in discursive approaches and technological and illustrative possibilities that had opened up over the course of a century.

Sections of text often are marked visually. The simplest method is the addition of whitespace between sections, whether in the form of indentation at the start of a section or additional leading before and after sections. Chapters and other major sections are often marked by initials capitals, whether simple drop caps or more ornate historiated, floral, or otherwise decorative capitals. In addition to breaking up the page, such initial capitals allowed printers to brand the book, as initial capitals often formed part of a house style.³⁸ Although chapters had been numbered since their introduction in classical antiquity, the Renaissance witnessed the invention of chapter titles, brief headings that described their content or argument.³⁹ These provided a further opportunity for authors and printers to set off sections so as to make each page visually apprehensible to readers. I suggest that, as authors became accustomed to writing in chapters and titling them, these sections became more coherent and focused in content. Furthermore, authors began to contemplate the sequence of sections and their combination into parts or books, occasionally even writing rationales for the organizations of their books.

³⁸ Rhodes, *Silent Printers*, vii–x. As mentioned above, incunabula tend to leave decoration to their eventual owners, leaving blank spaces when it is apparent which letter is to be added and placing a small letter in the space when it is otherwise ambiguous.

³⁹ Dames, "The Chapter: A History."

Printed marginal annotations were another tool that broke up the page visually. These are short phrases that appear in the outer margins beside certain passages. As the precursor to the modern footnote, they fall into at least three important categories outlined by Anthony Grafton.⁴⁰ The first kind is the keyword, a word or short phrase meant to summarize the section next to which it is placed. These are most common in Renaissance books about music printed before around 1540. After 1540, increased use of tables of contents and increased segmentation seem to have rendered marginal keywords obsolete. Marginal keywords mimicked the practices of contemporary readers, who added marginal keywords in manuscript to help them track the progression of ideas, especially midsection (see chapter four). I interpret the use of printed keywords as an early concession to readers, another organizational device that helped them wend their way through texts with minimal puzzlement and exertion.

Citations and references to authorities are Grafton's second category of printed marginalia. These were an early addition to printed writings about music, appearing prominently in Gaffurius's *Practica* (1496) to label all of the authorities and composers discussed in text. In this instance, the marginal citations highlight the cosmopolitan scope of the author's learnedness, ranging from ancient Greek authors like Aristotle (still knowingly tagged as "Philosophus") and Boethius, to medieval writers like Guido of Arezzo and Franco of Cologne, and more recent theorists like Johannes Tinctoris and Prosdocimus de Beldemandis. Gaffurius managed even to namedrop such venerated composers as Josquin des Prez, Guillaume Dufay, John Dunstable, Heinrich Isaac, Jacob Obrecht, and Johannes Ockeghem, among several others. During the sixteenth century, such citations became increasingly exact, listing not merely the author, but also the name of the work discussed with section or page references. The most extensive

⁴⁰ Grafton, *Footnote*. For printed marginalia in general, see Slights, *Managing Readers*.

citations emphasize the perspectives of multiple sources on a single topic, highlighting the diffusion of knowledge that printing technology enabled. Tigrini's *Compendio* is perhaps the best example of this, containing on most pages precise citations to the works of Gaffurius, Vicentino, and Zarlino. Whatever Tigrini's motivations for his copious annotations, they bear witness to the availability to a single reader of a wide range of musical thinking through the medium of printed books.

Commentaries are Grafton's final category of printed marginalia. These provide more discursive observations about the text, quoting from sources cited, clarifying potentially obscure points, or providing more idiomatic or literal translations of passages in different languages. Marginal commentaries are relatively rare in Renaissance writings about music, perhaps because the act of commentary was already so deeply enmeshed in the conventions of writing about music. Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) presents one of the few instances of this practice in a Renaissance music theory treatise. The margins of most pages are lightly peppered with printed marginalia, many of them extraordinarily detailed. The majority are keywords and citations, for example: "A general rule for midle notes in Ligatures," "Exception," "Finall notes in Legatures," and "Prickt notes in Ligature" (all p. 11); and "Franchinus op. mus. it. trac. 3. cap. 2," "Lossius. lib. 2. cap 4," and "Peter Aron Tuscanello" (all p. 13).⁴¹ Occasional marginal commentaries provide points of clarification and further explanation: "Proportion of the more inaequalitie doth in Musicke alwaies signifie diminution" (p. 27) and "The parts must be close, so that no other may be put in betwixt them" (p. 146). Morley reserved longer commentaries for a separate section at the back of the book,

⁴¹ Morley's exact references are to Gaffurius, *Theorica* (1492), book 3, chapter 2 (sig. D4v–D5r); Lucas Lossius, *Erotemata musicae* (1563), book 2, chapter 4 (sig. G8v–I1r); and Aaron, *Toscanello in musica* (1523), probably book 1, chapter 6 (sig. B2v).

which he labels as “ANNOTATIONS necessary for the understanding of the Booke.” In the introduction to this nineteen-page section, he lays out the rationale for its inclusion:

When I had ended my booke, and showne it (to be perused) to some of better skill in letters then my selfe, I was by them requested, to give some contentment to the learned, both by setting down a reason why I had disagreed from the opinion of others, as also to explaine something, which in the booke it selfe might seeme obscure. I have therefore thought it best to set downe in Annotations, such thinges as in the text could not so commodiouslie be handled, for interrupting of the continuall course of the matter, that both the young beginner shoulde not be overladed with those things, which at the firste woulde be to hard for him to conceive: and also that they who were more skilful, might have a reason for my proceedings. I would therefore counsel the young scholler in Musicke, not to intangle himselfe in the reading of these notes, til he have perfectly learned the booke it selfe, or at least the first part thereof: for without the knowledge of the booke, by reading of them, hee shal runne into such confusion, as hee shall not know where to begin or where to leave. But thou (learned Reader) if thou find any thing which shal not be to thy liking, in friendship advertise me that I may either mend it, or scrape it out. And so I ende, protesting that *Errare possum haereticus esse nolo*.⁴²

Here Morley acknowledges directly how his annotations, both in the margins and in this self-contained section, function for the benefit of advanced readers.⁴³ At the same time, Morley’s rationale makes explicit many of the imperatives of printed texts that authors of books about music only gradually learned to negotiate: ease of understanding, linear and coherent construction, and accessibility to a range of audiences.

Morley’s “Annotations” show how such paratextual features shaped the ways that readers approached books, both in bookshops and in their studies, and how those who made them conceived of them as printed objects. I interpret Morley’s rationale for these features as evidence of one author anticipating the needs of his readers by shaping the text to conform to their

⁴² Morley, *Introduction* (1597), sig. χ1r. The Latin phrase at the end, an adage of St. Augustine, means, “I may fall into error, but I will not plunge into heresy.”

⁴³ The confinement of these annotations to three self-contained and non-alphabetically-signed gatherings after the body of the book suggests that Morley may have shown printed main text to those “better skilled in letters” and crafted the annotations as a preemptive response to any possible public negative reactions.

expectations. The accoutrements of the printed page were not mere changes to the surface of a text, but integral parts of it. Like Ovid in exile, many authors faced, some for the first time, the prospect of writing for an uncertain audience and escaping the immersive, isolated world of the author's working manuscript. I argue that acclimatizing to this mindset effected an important shift in the ways that authors wrote about music. In the following sections, I trace this shift through several case studies, showing how and why individual authors practically adapted their works to the medium of print. In the following chapter, I will consider the complementary perspective, how the medium of print adapted to books about music.

Taming the printed beast: Lusitano, Vicentino, and Danckerts

In appendix one, I outline the substance and trajectory of the acrimonious debate between Vicente Lusitano and Nicola Vicentino, held at Rome in May and June 1551. In this section, I explore in a more focused way the role of print in engineering the controversy and how three of its participants—Lusitano, Vicentino, and Ghiselin Danckerts—exploited its aftermath. In short, I will argue that Lusitano provoked the debate through the choreographed publication of his own music; that both Lusitano and Vicentino capitalized on their newfound notoriety by publishing music treatises to varying degrees of success; and that Danckerts, a newcomer to publishing, struggled find a satisfactory overarching concept for his unpublished manuscript.

Lusitano's "Regina coeli" (1551) and *Introduttione* (1553)

Most of Lusitano's known compositions are preserved in a single collection of motets published in 1551 at Rome by Valerio and Luigi Dorico (RISM L3091). The print, titled *Liber primus epigramatum*, contains twenty-two Latin motets for five, six, and eight voices. An unusual feature of the print is a *motu proprio* signed by Pope Julius III, appended to the tenor and *sexta*

pars partbooks, constituting in effect a copyright privilege. Privileges were standard legal documents for protecting the contents of printed books during the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ The *motu proprio* specifically protects Lusitano's ten-year license to print, sell, and distribute his collection of motets, even prohibiting the Dorico firm from printing, selling, or distributing further copies without Lusitano's express permission.⁴⁵ Several factors make this privilege unusual. First, the scope of a privilege was circumscribed by the jurisdiction of the civic authority that granted it. In crafting the legal document, the pope could specify its validity in any lands under his authority as pope or as the civic leader of the Papal States. The language in the *motu proprio* is specific on this point; this document was to be valid throughout the Catholic world, "for each and every faithful Christian, equally in Italy and beyond."⁴⁶ Second, the stipulated punishment for violating the privilege was comparatively strong. A typical punishment was a small fine and the confiscation of all offending copies.⁴⁷ In contrast, the punishment for violating Lusitano's privilege was the confiscation of illegal copies, a fine of two hundred ducats per each illegal copy (one half payable to papal authorities, the other half to the composer), and

⁴⁴ For an excellent survey of the privilege in general at Rome and Venice, see Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*; for music privileges, see Agee, "The Venetian Privilege."

⁴⁵ "ne intra dictum decennium ut praefertur computandum dicta opera musicali predicti Vincentij non impressa, & per Valerium Doricum Brixien. dioc. imprimen. sine eiusdem Vincentij expressa licentia dicto decennio durante imprimere, vendere, seu venalia habere audeant." Lusitano, *Liber primus epigramatum* (1551), tenor partbook, sig. G4r (also in sexta partbook, sig. C4v).

⁴⁶ "tam in Italia quam extra Italiam." Ibid.

⁴⁷ Agee, "The Venetian Privilege," 17 notes a typical fine in Venice of one or two ducats for each illegally-printed copy. Due to the high cost of paper and labor, the customary seizure of a printer's stock of even a single work was a more effective deterrent against intellectual theft than a fine.

excommunication for any parties involved.⁴⁸ Another contemporary book about music protected by a papal privilege provides a useful point of contrast. The privilege for Diego Ortiz's *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas* (1553 = RISM O136) likewise protected the composer for ten years, but was valid only in the Italian Papal States and specified as punishment only the confiscation of illegal copies.⁴⁹ By its very presence and unusual nature, the *motu proprio* marks Lusitano's *Liber primus epigramatum* as a publication of special significance to the composer.

Barbosa has suggested credibly that the print may have constituted an attempt to gain employment for Lusitano in the Papal Chapel.⁵⁰ This seems likely, given the print's dedication to Lusitano's patron, Dom Dinis de Lencastre (d. 1598), a lesser member of the Portuguese royalty, Commander of the Military Order of Christ (a Portuguese branch of the Knights Templar), and Portuguese ambassador to Julius III.⁵¹ The dedication also emphasizes Dinis's role in enabling Lusitano's advancement as a professional musician.⁵² The *motu proprio* also mentions Fabius Acorombonus, a Roman cleric that served throughout the mid-sixteenth century as an intermediary between the papacy and King João III of Portugal; it seems likely that

⁴⁸ "Inhibentes omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus tam in Italia quam extra Italiam existentibus, praesertim bibliopolis, et aliis impressoribus sub excommunicationis latae sententiae, in terris vero sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae mediate vel immediate subiectis ducatorum ducentorum auri Camerae Apostolicae pro una, et dicto Vincentio pro altera medietatem applicandorum." Lusitano, *Liber primus epigramata*, tenor partbook, sig. G4r. It remains unclear the extent to which such a punishment could be carried out. It seems likely that the threat of confiscation and the fine held force only in the Papal States, whereas the threat of excommunication held force outside the Papal States.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 74 incorrectly states that violators of Ortiz's privilege would be fined. I have examined two copies of Ortiz's print (E-Mn, shelfmark R/14653 and I-Bc, shelfmark B.130); in neither does the privilege specify a fine.

⁵⁰ Barbosa, *Vicentius Lusitanus*, 336. Lowinsky, postscript to Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1959), n.p. suggests that Lusitano was a member of the Papal Chapel in 1551; there is no evidence in the Vatican archives to support this assertion.

⁵¹ Dinis is identified as the "speaker for the Most Serene King of Portugal to Our Holy Lord, Pope Julius III" ("Apud Sanctum Dominum Nostrum Iulium papam III pro serenissimo Portugalliae Rege Oratoris"). Lusitano, *Liber primus epigramatum*, all partbooks, sig. A1v.

⁵² Ibid., with regard to Dinis: "I cannot deny that I could have done nothing without him" ("sine qua me nihil posse haud inficior"). For Dinis's patronage, see Mastrocola, "Vicente Lusitano"; and Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 73.

Acorombonus filed the petition for a privilege on Lusitano's behalf.⁵³ In any case, Lusitano's print suggests a close connection to papal circles, which may account for the broad latitude granted in his privilege.

Several commentators have observed in the *Liber primus epigramatum* the presence of unusual notated accidentals—most notably A \flat , G \sharp , and D \flat —supposing these to reflect Lusitano's "Iberian heritage."⁵⁴ Stevenson cites in particular a rare first-inversion A \flat -major simultaneity from the "Regina coeli" (no. 12 in the collection).⁵⁵ The remainder of Lusitano's entire motet collection is full of similar harmonic curiosities. In the interest of space, I cite here only one of many examples: an extremely early and rare instance of a sounded augmented sixth in the second part of "Hic est Michael" (no. 3; figure 2.3). Whether these chromatic moments reflect Iberian mysticism, some other quality altogether, or even notational carelessness, they significantly unify this collection of Lusitano's motets.

Stevenson was the first to suggest that Lusitano's five-voiced "Regina coeli" was the composition that sparked the debate with Nicola Vicentino.⁵⁶ His only justification for this attribution is the notated A \flat -major simultaneity. I concur with Stevenson that the motet was the likely cause of the debate, but I propose that Vicentino and Lusitano argued over something

⁵³ A brief biographical sketch of Acorombonus is given in Moroni, *Dizionario*, 8:231.

⁵⁴ Blackburn, "Lusitano, Vicente"; and Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," *passim*.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 75.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 74: "The *Regina coeli* in Lusitano's motet collection may possibly be the very composition that Baini says gave rise to the dispute with Vicentino." Stevenson's reference is to Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche*, which was the first musicological study of the debate, based on Danckerts' manuscripts (see below). Blackburn, "Lusitano, Vicente" repeats Stevenson's pronouncement about the "Regina coeli."

Figure 2.3. Excerpt from Vicente Lusitano, “Hic est Michael.” No. 3 in *Liber primus epigramatum* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1551).

The musical score is written for five voices: Supranus, Altus, Quinta pars, Tenor, and Bassus. The Supranus voice has a melodic line with a chromatic inflection. The other voices provide harmonic support with sustained notes and some movement.

Supranus: [el] arch - an - ge - le, (with a chromatic inflection on 'ge')

Altus: [le]

Quinta pars: cha - el arch - an - -

Tenor: <[an] - ge - le,>

Bassus: <an - ge - le,>

other than a relatively routine turn to the flat side.⁵⁷ Another peculiar feature of the motet, and one also characteristic of many other motets in the same volume, is a striking type of cadence formation. Throughout the motet, Lusitano clearly prepares a chromatic inflection in one voice as a phrase approaches a cadence, while presenting in another voice the same note, clearly uninflected. One example will suffice as a demonstration of this procedure (figure 2.4). On the one hand, most musicians reading the *supranus* voice initially would inflect the asterisked note as B \sharp (instead of B \flat) in order to effect a cadence on C. The stepwise D–C motion in the *supranus secundus* voice further prepares this inflection in the *supranus*, creating the classic sixth–octave cadence with suspension—this exact kind of cadence occurs at the end of the

⁵⁷ See, for example, Josquin des Prez’s “Absalon fili mi,” which features a notated A \flat in the first phrase. Strictly speaking, notated accidentals were irrelevant to the debate; Lusitano and Vicentino agree in their subsequent writings that any tetrachordal genus can begin on any pitch.

Figure 2.4. Excerpt from Vicente Lusitano, “Regina caeli.” No. 12 in *Liber primus epigramatum* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1551). The pitch marked with an asterisk is a possible candidate for cadential inflection.

The musical score consists of five staves, each with a vocal part and Latin lyrics. The time signature is 7/8 and the key signature has one flat. The lyrics are: <re, por - ta - re> al - le - lu - ia, ti por - ta - re> al - le - lu - ia, <al - le - lu - ia,> ia, [al - le - lu - ia,] al - le - is - ti por - ta - re, [por - ta - <qui - a quem me - ru - is - ti por - ta - re> al -

previous phrase.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the B in the *altus* is performed unambiguously as B \flat , the default within the notational system. The notated E \flat in the tenor confirms this interpretation; to raise the B in the *altus* would create an illegal augmented fifth with the tenor (E \flat –B \sharp).

This creates a potential dilemma for the performing ensemble, depending on their competence and inclinations. In all likelihood, a first run-through will result in a B \sharp in the *supranus* and a B \flat in the *altus*, creating a cross-relation. Three scenarios are possible thereafter. First, upon discovering the jarring glitch, the performers elect not to raise the B in the *supranus*, creating a modal C-dorian effect. Second, the performers notice the augmented octave and elect for whatever reasons to keep the piquant chromaticism. Third, the performers blithely pass over

⁵⁸ A succinct summary of cadence formation in relation to *musica ficta* and hexachord theory is given in Mead, “Renaissance Theory.”

the cross-relation and give it no further thought.⁵⁹ Lusitano's intended effect is beside the point; Renaissance musical notation is sufficiently underdetermined that either the uninflected and inflected forms are acceptable interpretations. Stanley Boorman and James Haar have gone as far as to suggest that composers intended such ambiguities and were satisfied with either result.⁶⁰

I believe that this type of cadence formation raises issues that match more closely the subject and spirit of the debate. The potential cross-relations in Lusitano's cadences are an ideal opportunity for a misunderstanding. (I adopt the conditional tense in following sentences, as there is no documentation of what happened at the performance of the "Regina caeli.") Lusitano could have argued that leaving the *supranus* B uninflected (i.e., flatted) creates a perfect illustration of the diatonic genus because all the voices are in the diatonic genus. Vicentino, however, could have argued that inflecting (i.e., raising) the B creates a perfect illustration of music in the mixed genera because the pitches of each part derive collectively from the diatonic and chromatic genera. Vicentino also could have argued credibly that the ambiguity in the notation creates the possibility that one cannot say definitively in which genus the composition is written. Speaking precisely about music is difficult enough; underdetermined notational and performance practices make it well nigh impossible. Although there is strong evidence to support the claim that Lusitano's "Regina coeli" is the piece that touched off this legendary event, even if it was not the piece in question, it nonetheless provides compelling evidence that illuminates the Lusitano–Vicentino debate.

⁵⁹ These very scenarios are treated at length in Boorman, "False Relations and the Cadence." Ibid., 221 suggests the third scenario as the most likely, that professional ensembles simply did not have the rehearsal time to smooth over potential cross-relations and that composers gradually "expected theoretically forbidden false relations to occur in performance and...they composed in such a way that these harmonically rich sonorities would be included in performance."

⁶⁰ Boorman, "False Relations and the Cadence"; and Haar, "False Relations and Chromaticism."

Its inclusion in Lusitano's only known complete publication raises intriguing questions about the print as a whole.⁶¹ I suggest here that Lusitano published the volume with the intention of picking a fight with Vicentino. There is no evidence of Lusitano's whereabouts between 1543 (Lusitano's last documented appearance in Portugal) and the debate in 1551.⁶² Even if he did not witness the failed performances of Vicentino's avant-garde compositions at Rome in 1549, Lusitano would have heard about them from Roman confidantes by 1551.⁶³ Evidence also suggests that Vicentino's reputation for bravado and a quick temper preceded him.⁶⁴ A well-timed performance of the motet and a gentle prodding would have been all that Lusitano needed to provoke Vicentino. Vicentino's account of the debate (albeit an undoubtedly biased one) records Lusitano's attempts to antagonize, culminating in a lengthy rebuke by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.

The dating of Lusitano's *Liber primus epigramatum* is therefore an important concern. Following a manuscript defacement in the sole surviving copy at D-Mbs (shelfmark 4° Mus. pr. 94), RISM incorrectly lists the year of publication as 1555. Closer inspection confirms that the year is in fact 1551. (A diagonal stroke is added in dark brown ink to the last numeral of "M. D. LI." to make "M. D. LV.") Barbosa was unable to establish through archival research at the Vatican the exact date of the *motu proprio*, or even whether the publication was published before or after the debate in June 1551.⁶⁵ In any case, two interpretations are possible: Lusitano

⁶¹ A single madrigal, "All'hor ch'ignuda d'herb' et flor la terra," was published in *Il libro delle Muse a tre voci* (RISM 1562⁸); only the *bassus* partbook survives.

⁶² Mastrocola, "Vicente Lusitano," 40; and Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 3:772.

⁶³ On this episode, see Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 22; Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), xvii; and Lockwood, "A Dispute on Accidentals."

⁶⁴ Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 15–48 (*passim*).

⁶⁵ Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, 346–49.

provoked the debate as an attempt either to generate excitement or to stimulate sales for his collection of motets, either forthcoming or hot off the presses. The significance is the same in either case—on the basis of this evidence, I argue that Lusitano engineered a plan to increase his reputation through publication.

Lusitano appears anxious to control his public image in print, because, I believe, he had bigger plans afoot. Shortly after the debate came to an end, Vicentino decided to publish the formal declaration of the results. Vicentino palpably describes Lusitano's nervous attempts to prevent its publication:

[I do not] want to overtax myself by enumerating how many times, after His Most Illustriousness had read the sentence, the said Don Vicente requested it back from His Most Illustrious Lordship. Since the said sentence was in favor of the aforesaid [Don Vicente], I begged His Most Illustrious Lordship to do me the favor of permitting me to print and publish it to the world to his honor and glory, as well as to that of the two judges. I shall refrain from describing how insistent Don Vicente was to have the sentence back from the Most Illustrious Cardinal when he heard that I planned to publish it, and how many days he importuned the rector, Monsignor de Trotti, to whom the Most Illustrious Cardinal had entrusted the sentence.⁶⁶

The declaration included lengthy and unflattering depositions written by both parties during the debate (described in appendix one). At this point, Lusitano was contemplating publishing a book-length exposition on his views, based on the manuscript (now at F-Pn) that Lusitano drafted before the debate.⁶⁷ Lusitano's victory in the debate established his credibility on musical

⁶⁶ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 304 (adapted). "Io non voglio troppo affaticarmi in dire, che quando lo Illustrissimo hebbe letta la sententia quante volte il sopradetto dimandò quella à sua Illustrissima Signoria. Io pregati sua Signoria Illustrissima, che mi facesse gratia, doppò che detta sententia era in favore del sopradetto, che mi concedesse ch'io la facesse Stampare, & publicarla al Mondo, à honore, & Gloria sua, & delli due Giudici. Io non voglio dire che quando Don Vincentio intese, ch'io la voleva far stampare, quanta instantia faceva, per rihaverla, dallo Illustriss. Cardinale, & quanti giorni veniva per quella, da Monsignor Preposto de Troti, alquale lo Illustriss. haveva fidata detta sententia." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95r–95v.

⁶⁷ Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 119–20 presents the evidence for the dating of the manuscript.

matters. By publishing the declaration, Vicentino would have both undermined Lusitano's authority and possibly foreclosed the publication of his book.

Lusitano's *Introduttione facilissima et novissima* appeared shortly thereafter at Rome in 1553. In the short span of twenty-four leaves, the book breezily describes how to read staff notation and perform and improvise polyphonic music. On the subject of the ancient Greek genera—ostensibly the main draw for readers—Lusitano offers a mere four hundred words of explanation and tosses off a perfunctory musical example (mangled in production). Furthermore, as Vicentino later noted in his own treatise, Lusitano changes sides in the debate, showing that music could be composed in the enharmonic and chromatic genera. Lusitano ends the entire treatise by advising readers to “defer judgment to the ears of good musicians.”⁶⁸ (Whether this is a subtle dig at Vicentino or a noncommittal ending depends on one's magnanimity about Lusitano's prose style.) Antonio Blado, the treatise's printer, enjoyed decades of prosperity as the official printer for the papacy. Blado's publications thus carried with them tacit papal imprimatur, which conferred legitimacy on Lusitano's pamphlet in spite of its brevity. The colophon at the end of the tract announces proudly in outlandishly large type Blado's position as “Impressore Apostolico” (figure 2.5).

My narrative about Lusitano's two prints emphasizes his negotiation of the risks and rewards of the publishing world. I have argued that a performance from his collection of motets sparked a debate that created promotional buzz for the collection. Lusitano quickly leveraged his newfound notoriety by publishing a treatise that appeared to settle the score with Vicentino. I will leave aside speculation on the extent to which this entire strategy was conceived in advance,

⁶⁸ “lasso giudicare a l'orecchia de i buoni musici.” Lusitano, *Introduttione* (1553), sig. F3r.

Figure 2.5. Excerpt from Vicente Lusitano, *Introduitione facilissima et novissima* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1553), sig. F2v–3r.


De tre generi della Musica.

Tre sono i generi de la Musica, ouer' modi di proceder' con le uoci, cioè, diatonico, che procede in quattro uoci, per tono, tonoz & semitono minore, Cromatico, che procede in quattro uoci, per semitono minore & maggiore, & per tre semitoni, che in tutto sono cinque semitoni, secondo la diffinitione di Boetio, nel Capitolo xxi. & secondo l' medesimo Boetio, nel Capitolo xxij. per semitono minore, & maggiore, & terza minore aggiunta, come, re, fa, & non come re, mi, fa, perche questo uol dire triemintonio in composito, & questo è metterfi intiero, & in uno interuallo, così come re, fa, ouer' mi, sol. Enarmonico è quel che procede in quattro uoci, per diesis diesis, & terza maggiore in uno interuallo, così come vt, mi, & non come, vt, re, mi, i segui di questi interualli, sono come già dicemmo di semitono minore, questo ✕, dichiara le quattro come, che'l tal semitono ha, quello di semitono maggiore è questo, ✕ dichiara le cinque come che'l tale semitono ha, il qual segno non si metterà se non doppo'l semitono minore, a dinotare, che iui habbiamo a fare il maggiore, & questo in vna linea, ouer spatia come di sotto si uederà, la de diesis è questa. ✕. dichiara le due come, che la diesis ha.

Esempio come si metteno in consonantie.


Basso,

Tenore.



Alto.

Soprano.



Il semitono maggiore non si divide in alcun genere, ma a giudicio mio si può diuidere in diesis, & tre come, come il tono si diuise in semitono minore & maggiore, & non impedisce che la diuisione non sia eguale come s'è visto ne la diuisione del tono.

E anchor' da sapere per intelligentia di questi tre generi, massime de l'armonico: che tutti gli interualli, cioè, tonoz: terza, diatessaron: diapente: sesta, ottaua: hanno questi tre gradi: cioè: imperfetto, perfetto: plusquàm perfetto, questo & quel piu: che si desiderarà sapere: si trouarà nel nostro trattato maggiore di Musica pratica, è anchor' da notare: che gli interualli che si fanno quando facciamo la diesis: come quinta con diesis: ouer' terza con diesis: o sia maggiore: o minore: sono emeles: come la terza minore: & maggiore: la sesta minore: ouer' maggiore: sono anchora in proportione irrationale com'è questi altre: cioè: terza: & sesta: perche non è misura commune: l'eccesso del numero maggiore al minore: o la differenza tra l'uno e l'altro: et perciò dissonantie compatibili. Ma quanto sonaue elle siano, lasso giudicare a l'orecchia de i buoni musici.

Stampata in Roma, in Campo di Fiore,
per Antonio Blado, Impressore
Apostolico.
L'Anno del Signore, M. D. LIII.
a li, X X V. di Settembre.

noting only that Lusitano could not mastermind at least one aspect of his scheme. His motet volume appears to imply an unfulfilled ambition—a *Liber secundus* never appeared.⁶⁹

Vicentino's *L'antica musica* (1555)

As the instigator of the debate, Lusitano had a clear advantage over his opponent. Nicola

Vicentino's defensive posture set the tone of his responses to the debate. As I will show below,

he was also less adept than Lusitano at deploying printing technology in his favor. Immediately

⁶⁹ Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 76 speculates that Lusitano "paid the penalty for his [harmonic] daring when no publisher chose to anthologize his motets." It should be noted, however, that many other composers published only a first book of music.

after the debate in 1551, he retired to Ferrara with his patron, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.⁷⁰ He spent the next few years there, with bouts in Rome and Siena while Ippolito unsuccessfully helped defend the Republic of Siena against the designs of Spain and Florence.⁷¹ Over the course of this period, Vicentino worked on a response to Lusitano, laying out in full his theoretical positions on the ancient Greek genera. Although his treatise was probably well underway before 1553, the publication of Lusitano's treatise—with its seemingly tacked-on description of the genera and polemical volte-face—put him further on the defensive and prodded him to see the work through publication.

After nearly four years of silence, Vicentino's response emerged on 22 May 1555, printed at Rome by Antonio Barrè. *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* is a significantly more complex work than Lusitano's *Introduitione*. Vicentino's views of the genera inform each of the tome's 304 pages, an expansive volume that touches on every area of compositional and performance practice. *L'antica musica* is dedicated to and frequently addresses his longtime patron Ippolito, but advertises for the wider world the “invention of a new instrument that accommodates all perfect music and many musical secrets,” a culmination of the extended development of his ideas on advanced music.⁷² This difference in discursive approach between Lusitano's and Vicentino's book is signaled furthered by their respective bibliographical formats (upright quarto and folio), which imbued them with very different profiles as material objects.

⁷⁰ Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95v; cf. Vicentino, *Ancient music* (1996), 304.

⁷¹ Incidentally, the fall of the Republic of Siena and its incorporation into the Republic of Florence set the stage for Tigrini's patron, Federico Barbolani, an Aretine noble in the service of the Medici who became governor of Siena (see appendix one).

⁷² “L'inventione di uno nuovo stromento, nelquale si contiene tutta la perfetta musica, con molti segreti musicali.” Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. [1]r.

Despite Vicentino's protestations that the work had been underway long beforehand, *L'antica music ridotta alla modern prattica* should be understood as a response to the debate. In his narrative account of the debate, Vicentino makes explicit his reasons for publishing the book:

I have written these few words lest the aforesaid Don Vicente Lusitano reprove me for my tardiness in printing the said sentence, which I had promised him to do some time ago. This delay was caused by the concerns and reasons given above. Even though four years have elapsed since that sentence was issued, this delay is not inappropriate because the sentence now comes out together with this, my work. Hence, it will be better understood than it would have been earlier without my work. As a consequence, everyone can properly adjudicate our disagreements and consider whether the sentence was pronounced justly and whether the judges understood our disagreement.⁷³

Vicentino's own position is implicit in the statement itself; he felt wronged by the judges of the debate and set out to correct and to expose their misunderstandings. Throughout the book, Vicentino argues for the limitations of language, both in terms of Vicentino's own rhetorical skill and the broader utility of words to explain music as an empirical phenomenon. This forms a significant theme in Vicentino's rationales scattered throughout the book:

As for language, we have as many rules as there are writers. Reading now one, now another for my amusement, I find that the language we use today is just like Proteus, who purposely changed himself into diverse shapes. Consequently, by clinging in subservience to first this writer and then to that writer, I almost became a new Vertumnus myself.⁷⁴ I have taken some care in this matter after diligently reading over my work many times. Yet I do not doubt that detractors and calumniators of good works who aim at nothing but malice will contradict me on this issue, being unable (so I believe) to lay any other blame on me. And so to obviate all this, I declare at the outset that I did not feel obliged to write in the

⁷³ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 304. "Hò detto queste poche parole, acciò che il sopradetto Don Vincentio Lusitano, non mi riprendi s'io son stato tardo à far stampare detta sententia, già à lui promessa. La cagione è stata per la inquiete, & per le ragioni sopradette; avvenga che sia corso il quarto anno doppo essa sententia. nondimeno questa tardanza non è stata fuore di proposito. perche detta sententia venendo fuore insieme con questa mia opera, sarà più intesa dal Mondo, che non saria stata prima senza essa opera, & acciò che ognuno possi giudicare bene, le nostre differenze, & considerare se la sententia fù data giustamente, et sè le nostre differenze furono intese dalli Giudici." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95v.

⁷⁴ Vertumnus was the Roman god of the seasons, who could assume any shape he wished. His tale is given in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.642ff; and Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.409.

style of Boccaccio and that I scarcely had time to worry over every insignificant little word because of the great scope of my work.⁷⁵

Moreover, your skill will be improved by my instrument, called the archicembalo, since practical examples are more convincing than notated examples accompanied by words.⁷⁶

In such statements, one sees Vicentino's reaction to the profusion of books about music in general, and the appearance of Lusitano's in particular. His comment about the scope of his book reads as a critique of the pithiness of Lusitano's *Introduitione*, which is notably difficult to understand. His doubts about using prose to explain musical practice likewise suggest a disdain for the limited scope of musical examples in many Renaissance music treatises. In appendix one, I suggest that Vicentino's loss in the debate stemmed partly from the inaptness of his theories for oral explication. I interpret his concerns about the language of *L'antica musica* as a response to this possibility and to his experiences being misunderstood as a communicator.

Vicentino's conception of his distinctive style of composing shifted throughout his career from publication to publication (listed in table A1.4). In his 1546 madrigal print, Vicentino indicates that his madrigals were composed "in the new theoretical and practical manner discovered by his most celebrated teacher."⁷⁷ Vicentino portrays this style as the brilliant

⁷⁵ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 4. "Ma questo nostra lingua, che adesso usiamo, per haver quasi tante regule, quanti ha Scrittori: leggendone talhor' uno, talhor' un'altro per mio spasso, m'è parsa proprio quel Protheo, ch'à posta sua si mutava in diverse forme; Per la qual cosa, attaccandomi hora all'osservation di questo, hor di quello; so quasi divenuto anchor io un nuovo Vertunno. Alla qual cosa havendo io posto cura, poi ch'io diligentement più volte letta l'opera mia; ho dubitato, che questi detratori, e calunniatori dell'opere buone; per ch'eglino non sanno mai fare altro, che male, non m'opponghino in questo, non potendomi (per quel ch'io mi penso) dare altro biasimo. Onde per ovviare à tutto ciò; dico, ch'io primamente non mi sò voluto obligare à parlar Boccaccevolmente; ch'io non hebbi mai tempo d'osservare paroluzza, essendo così grande il campo della mia fatica. Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. [2]v.

⁷⁶ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 36–37. "& più ti farà capace il nostro instrumento, detto Archicembalo, che ti movera più l'esempio accompagnato dalla prattica, che gli esempi scritti & accompagnati con parole non fanno." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 11v.

⁷⁷ "per theorica et pratica da lui composti al nuovo modo dal celeberrimo suo maestro ritrovato." Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci...libro primo* (1546 = RISM V1414 and W1119), tenor partbook, sig. A1r.

discovery of Adrian Willaert; the compositions are presented as his first attempts at composing in this new style, although Henry W. Kaufmann has noted its predominantly diatonic conception.⁷⁸ In *L'antica musica*, Vicentino instead portrays this style of composition as a humanistic recovery of ancient Greek ways, noting in particular how modern musical practice had lost its ancient power. In his 1561 untitled broadside, known as the *Descrizione dell'arciorgano*, Vicentino makes no mention of how this system of composing and performing began, except to say that arciorgano would inspire the unnamed inventor of this system to compose “with greater harmony and more consonances.”⁷⁹ Finally, in his 1572 madrigal print, Vicentino styles himself grandly as “the practical and theoretical arch-musician and inventor of new harmonies.”⁸⁰ Over the course of twenty-six years Vicentino thus asserted four different views of the origins of his musical style, attributing it to his teacher, to the ancient Greeks, to an unnamed source, and finally to himself. His unfocused narrative about the genera likely contributed to his troubled reputation as a professional musician among the Italian musical intelligentsia.⁸¹

Between 1555 and the publication of the 1571 madrigal print, *L'antica musica* was the only source available to the wider public for Vicentino's newest, most representative compositions. Seven extended musical examples, billed as demonstrations of the genera and how to mix them, lie at the center of the book:

⁷⁸ Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 67.

⁷⁹ “l'inventore della sopra detta armonia...scriverà e comporrà a quattro & a piu voci quel suo cantare con maggiore armonia, & con piu consonantia che no si fa nella Musica commune.” Vicentino, *Descrizione dell'arciorgano* (1561), n.p.

⁸⁰ “arcimusico don Nicola Vicentino pratico et theorico et inventore delle nuove armonie.” Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci...libro quinto* (1572 = RISM V1416), all partbooks, sig. A1r.

⁸¹ For the receptions of Vicentino's theories among Italian musicians, see Maniates, “Bottrigari versus Sigonio”; and Maniates, “The Cavaliere Ercole Bottrigari.”

1. An untexted composition in the diatonic genus, fol. 52 r –52 v (1555), pp. 165–66 (1996); reproduced and transcribed in figures 4.14 and 4.15
2. “Alleluia haec dies” in the chromatic genus, fol. 62 r –62 v (1555), pp. 196–97 (1996)
3. “Soav’ e dolc’ ardore” in the enharmonic genus, fol. 67 r (1555), pp. 209–210 (1996)
4. “Dolce mio ben” in the mixed genera, fol. 67 v –68 r (1555), pp. 211–13 (1996)
5. “Madonna, il poco dolce” in the mixed genera, fol. 68 v –69 r (1555), pp. 214–17 (1996)
6. “Musica prisca caput,” segmented into each genus, fol. 69 v –70 v (1555), pp. 218–22 (1996).
7. “Hierusalem, Hierusalem” in the chromatic genus, fol. 70 v –71 r (1555), pp. 223–25 (1996)

Timothy R. McKinney has interpreted these examples as Vicentino’s response to Lusitano’s theories.⁸² Throughout *L’antica musica*, Vicentino asserts the idea that the diatonic genus is particularly harsh, unsuited for modern compositions, which directly countered Lusitano’s claim that most contemporary music was in the diatonic genus. McKinney argues that Vicentino crafted the diatonic examples (in the list above, no. 1 and the first part of no. 6) so as to increase their harshness. Also noteworthy is Vicentino’s omission of a texted exemplar of the diatonic genus; the only complete example has no text, subtly reinforcing his point about its unsuitability for composers.

In Vicentino’s *L’antica musica*, one may see the unfolding of his theoretical agenda, providing a full exposition of his theories of the genera and their application to modern composition. The book also presented new examples of his avant-garde style of composition accompanied by a rigorous defense of their aesthetic value and instructions in how to compose in

⁸² McKinney, “Point/Counterpoint.”

this way for oneself. Vicentino's *L'antica musica* allowed him to clarify his position and defend against Lusitano's attacks. The book also afforded Vicentino an opportunity to antagonize Lusitano and Danckerts privately. In one chapter, Vicentino glosses Lusitano's section on improvised counterpoint, the principal theoretical innovation in Lusitano's *Introduttione*, dismissing the technique out of hand: "Such a practice is neither good nor useful for the choir, and in the chamber it is worthless."⁸³ Each contrapuntal technique is appraised in turn, each one receiving such damnation as "crude to hear" ("fà brutto sentire"), "not modern" ("non è moderno"), and "utter clumsiness" ("tanta mal gratia"). The kindest assessment Vicentino has to offer is "not so bad" ("è manco male"). Danckerts, too, receives subtle condemnation. When discussing puzzle canons, Vicentino mentions several unsuitable kinds:

[A composer] should not make a canon in the shape of a tower, a mountain, a river, a chessboard, or other objects, for these compositions create a loud noise in many voices, with little harmonic sweetness. To tell the truth, a listener is more likely to be induced to vexation than to delight by these disproportioned fancies, which are devoid of pleasant harmony and contrary to the goal of the imitation of the nature of the words.⁸⁴

Danckerts himself wrote a puzzle canon in the shape of a canon on the text "Ave maris stella," which Vicentino here ridicules. As Maria Rika Maniates observes, Vicentino must have taken no little pleasure in privately needling Danckerts in this way.⁸⁵

One final aspect of the publication history of *L'antica musica* deserves mention. Several copies of the treatise survive with a publication date of 1557. Although listed in RISM as a

⁸³ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 262. "& tal prattica non è buona ne utile per il Choro, & da camera non val niente." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 83v (wrongly fol. 80v; i.e., sig. O5v).

⁸⁴ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 298. "et quello non dè far un Canon sopra una Torre, ò sopra un Monte, ò sopra un fiume, ò sopra i scacchi da giocare, ò sopra altre cose, & che quelle compositioni faccino un gran rumore, à molti voci, con poca dolcezza d'armonia, che per dir il vero queste tal fantasie sproportionate, & senza proposito de imitar la natura delle parole, & senza grata Armonia, induce l'oditore più preto à fastidio che à diletto." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 93v.

⁸⁵ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 298n.

second edition and identified by Maniates as a reprint, in actuality these copies are a separate issue of the first edition.⁸⁶ To create this issue, the book's printer, Antonio Barrè, merely stamped in two numerals "II" next to the "MDLV" to alter the date of publication on the title page and colophon.⁸⁷ Maureen Buja notes that the added numerals are in fact in smaller type.⁸⁸ Both the 1555 and 1557 imprints bear on the colophons the indication "a instantia di Don Nicola Vicentino," which typically indicates that the individual named bore some element of responsibility for the edition. In chapter three, I argue that the edition was underwritten not by Vicentino but by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. After all, his reputation was as much at stake as Vicentino's in warding off Lusitano's attacks. The 1557 issue of *L'antica musica* represents Vicentino's attempts to freshen the book's appeal by making it appear newer. This stands in stark contrast to Lusitano's *Introduttione*, which went through three editions in less than a decade.

Danckerts's manuscripts

Ghiselin Danckerts witnessed the aftermath of the debate from a level of remove. He was neither personally involved with the litigants of the debate nor did his administrative duties in the Papal Chapel permit sustained engagement with either party. Perhaps his compulsive scribal instinct to record events accurately led him initially to involve himself in the debate's aftermath. The sentence against Vicentino written by Danckerts and Bartolome de Escobedo (the other judge in the debate) emerged as a particular concern for both Lusitano and Vicentino. At least according

⁸⁶ Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1996), xxiii. In bibliographical terms, an "issue" generally is an alteration made to an edition (the body of printed sheets corresponding to a single run of the press) after it had first gone on sale.

⁸⁷ I am grateful to Samantha Gilchrist at GB-Gu for answering several queries about the library's copy (Special Collections, shelfmark F.x.30).

⁸⁸ Buja, "Antonio Barrè," 318.

to Vicentino, Lusitano wished to suppress its publication, which might have dampened enthusiasm for his publication; Vicentino wished to publish it in order to let members of the public decide for themselves the justness of the debate's outcome. In *L'antica musica*, Vicentino indicates that Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, who presided over the proceedings, finally entrusted the document itself to one Monsignor de Trotti, probably Brandalisio de' Trotti, the steward of the cardinal's household.⁸⁹ In this section, I analyze the complex revisions of Danckerts's manuscripts, showing how they provide an extraordinary detailed window into the mind of an author preparing a work for publication.

As an author of the sentence, Danckerts had a vested interest in protecting its survival and integrity. He had reason to suspect foul play on the part of both Lusitano, who might have it stolen or destroyed to mask his change in position, and Vicentino, who might have published a bastardized version. Danckerts's probably began compiling his manuscripts in 1551 as a means to preserve the sentence in its true and correct form.⁹⁰ Danckerts then began to expand the manuscript to include copies of Lusitano's and Vicentino's depositions, which later appeared in Vicentino's *L'antica musica* (fol. 95v–96r). Danckerts closely studied Vicentino's account and noted some minor, but disturbing divergences from the original copies. The most damning of these is Vicentino's alleged addition of the phrase “non è Diatonica semplice” in Vicentino's version of his own deposition:

Vicentino: Io hò provato, à M. Vincentio Lusitano, che la Musica, che noi cantiamo hoggi di, & che communamente ognuno canta, non è Diatonica semplice, & lui dice che è Diatonica...⁹¹

⁸⁹ Mastrocola, “Vicente Lusitano,” 62n identifies Brandalisio de' Trotti as the “Monsignor de Trotti.” Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 304n discusses the Trotti family at Ferrara.

⁹⁰ For the chronology of the manuscripts, see appendix one.

⁹¹ Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95v.

I have proved to Messer Vicente Lusitano that the music that we sing nowadays and that everyone sings ordinarily is not simply diatonic, and which he says is diatonic...

Danckerts: Io hò provato a M: Vincentio Lusitano, che la Musica che noi cantamo oggi di et che communemente ognuno canta; lui dice che è Diatonica...⁹²

I have proved to Messer Vicente Lusitano that the music that we sing nowadays and that everyone sings ordinarily, which he says is diatonic...

Danckerts maintained that the slight addition distorted the tenor of the debate, the subject of which was not the “simple diatonic genus,” but the “diatonic genus.” He devoted an entire chapter to critiquing Vicentino’s version of his deposition, showing how Vicentino deceitfully introduced further minor alterations and additions to reinforce his point.⁹³ Danckerts took pains to indicate that his versions of documents were made from the most authoritative sources available. In the first draft of the manuscript, Vicentino’s deposition is headed as follows:

Copia della [^]Cedola et originale Informatione ~~[illegible]~~, manda don Nicòla Vicentino, [^]& sua
inform p sua proua scritta di sua Mano propria, à M. Ghisilino [^]giudice predetto per sua
proua.⁹⁴

Copy of the [^]warrant and original deposition ~~[illegible]~~ sent by Don Nicola Vicentino [^]and his
deposition as his evidence written in his own hand to Messer Ghiselin [^]aforesaid judge as his
evidence.

Here we see Danckerts’s attempts to find the best way to position the document and convey the importance of his rendering of it. At this stage in the first draft, his primary motivations remain preservation and accuracy.

In short order, however, Danckerts decided to expand the document beyond simple transcriptions. Perhaps as he digested the scope of Vicentino’s treatise and its ramifications for

⁹² I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 354r. The versions of this document in Danckerts’s other two drafts (fol. 389v and 574r) are substantially the same, differing only in details of orthography.

⁹³ I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 356r–358r (first draft, part one, chapter 7), 392v–394r (second draft, part one, chapter 8), and 577r–579v (third draft, part one, chapter 8).

⁹⁴ I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 354r. The heading in subsequent drafts adopts these corrections.

himself personally, he felt he needed to offer his own defense. Danckerts aspired to have his records of the proceedings printed and published for the greater benefit. The first draft of his manuscript includes a lengthy letter to the readers, labeled “L’Autore alli Lettori,” in which he sets out his reasons for publishing his work:

The thought occurred to me to have this printed [*stampare*] in Italian for the reasons mentioned below, in order to show to everyone who wishes to see how his telling and publication of the said proceedings have lacked pure truth in many ways, some of which I will discuss here.⁹⁵

Danckerts worked diligently on the manuscript over several years, preparing two drafts in his own hand and having a third professionally copied by another scribe, with corrections in Danckerts’s hand. Ultimately, however, there is no surviving record of the manuscript being printed, nor is there reason to believe that it might have been.

The main value of Danckerts’s treatise for this study is its development as a material object from draft to draft. A full textual or codicological study of the manuscript drafts is beyond the scope of this chapter.⁹⁶ I will focus instead on the most significant changes that Danckerts introduced as the manuscripts developed to show how he prepared the book for publication. In the extended analysis below, I will argue that each draft witnesses his gradual, and only partial assimilation to the unwritten rules of the printed book that were discussed above. Just as the intellectual and theoretical content matured with each subsequent writing, its organization and presentation gradually assumed the mantle of a printed book.

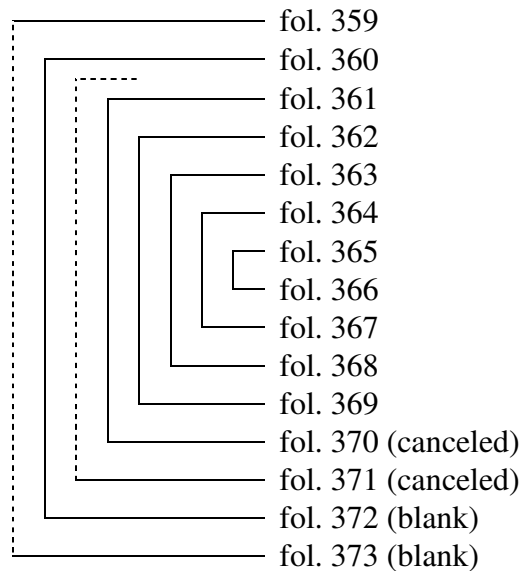
⁹⁵ “Mi à penso farlo stampare in lingua italiana per le cagioni che si diranno disotto, per mostrare ad ogniuno che lo uoglia uedere, come che esso nel narrare et publicare il detto progresso, ha mancato alla pura uerità in molti modi, deli quali ne dirò qui alcuni.” I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 349r.

⁹⁶ The most extensive textual study of the manuscripts is Campagnolo, “Il Trattato,” which attempts to provide a critical edition of the manuscripts. No complete codicological study of the manuscripts has been published.

Three drafts of Danckerts's treatise survive a I-Rv, Ms. R56 (for the structure and contents of these drafts, see table A1.1). The first draft (fol. 348r–381v) was clearly the copy Danckerts used initially to compose the manuscript, as it is the most heavily revised, often to the point of illegibility. The draft's four gatherings correlate to the work's front matter and three parts. Composing the manuscript in this manner gave it an extensible conception—sections could be added, removed, or reordered without difficulty. This also required planning so as not to waste paper. Danckerts evidently overestimated the length of part two, as its gathering ends with two leaves canceled on both sides via diagonal slash followed by two blank pages. This represents a second stage of second thought: the canceled pages include a leaf (fol. 371) that was interpolated into the gathering (i.e., added after its initial formation), only for its contents to be excised later on. The leaf contains a chapter, headed “Opinion regarding the chromatic and enharmonic coloration of songs with some other advice” (“Opinione sopra il colorare le cantilena Chromatico et enharmonico con alcuno altri avisi”).⁹⁷ The structure of this gathering is as follows:⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The chapter appears in the same place at the end of part two in the second draft (fol. 404r–404v) and the third draft (fol. 589v–590r); both versions of the chapter are heavily edited by Danckerts.

⁹⁸ For a description of the anomalous structure and preservation of this gathering, see the notes in table A1.1.



This draft records Danckerts's struggle to find a satisfactory concept for the work. The first draft hinges on Vicentino's *L'antica musica*, responding to it at every turn. He even seems to cede Vicentino the final word, intending to place a quotation from Vicentino's book after the end of his book:

The end of the aforesaid treatise. Here follows the chapter on the aforesaid musical debate printed in the aforesaid book about music by the said Don Nicola on folio 95 with the changes and additions to the words that are not in the originals, as was mentioned above.⁹⁹

In the next two drafts, Danckerts revisited the concept of the work, gradually escaping the limiting impulse to respond exclusively to Vicentino, instead coming to think of the work more as a fully-fledged treatment of the genera.

The most vivid illustration of Dankcerts's struggles with the work are his attempts to find a satisfactory title. Danckerts seems to be aware of the need to have a convenient handle for his work. The first draft begins with a title page with a fanciful description of the work:

⁹⁹ "il fine del trattato predetto. Seguità il Capittolo della Differentia Musicale predetta; Stampato nel volume musicale predetto del ditto don Nicola, a carte 95 ~~illegibile~~ con le alterationi et aggiõtionì delle parole che non stanno ne i loro originali, come di sopra è stato detto." I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 380v.

GHISILINO DANCKERTS | Musico, et Cantore ~~Capellano~~ della capella del p̃p. | sopra una | Differentia Musicale | Sententiata | nella detta Capella Contra il ^{perdente} venerabile | Don Nicola Vicentino, per non hauer possuto prouare, Che niun musico compo= | sitore intende, di che genere ^{fia la} ~~da~~ Musica | Che esso istesso Cōpone ~~[illegible]~~ come si era offerto || Con vna dicchiaratione | facilissima, soṽ i tre generi ^{di essa Musica} ~~della detta Musica~~ | ^{cioè} DIATONICO [hole in paper] et ENARMONICO | con i loro essempli [hole in paper] separatamēte | [hole in paper] da l'altro; et ancho misti di tutti tre i generi | insieme; et molte altre cose musicali degne ^{da} | ~~ad~~ intendere. || [from here to end, canceled by single diagonal stroke, with additional strikethrough as noted] & oltraciò ui sono ^{Alcuni concenti} 20 ~~Cantilene~~ [hole in paper] ~~[illegible]~~ | ~~[illegible]~~ nel folo genera del diatonico diuer[hole in paper] | dal medesimo Authore nel folo gñe diato[hole in paper] | p chiarare al ^{ad ognuno} ~~detto offerente~~, che la detto Musica | che si canta comunemēte, nō è mista de | tre li generi (come ^[illegible] ~~esso~~ li psuade) ma la è | del folo genere diatonico, si come ogniuno | potra giudicare, Doppo inteso il p̃nte.¹⁰⁰

Ghiselin Danckerts, Musician and Singer in the Papal Chapel, regarding a musical debate judged in the said Chapel against the loser, the venerable Don Nicola Vicentino, for not having been able to prove that no composer of music knows the genus of the music that he himself composed, as he had offered. With a very easy declaration regarding the three genera of this music, namely diatonic, [hole in paper], and enharmonic, with examples of them [hole in paper] separately [hole in paper] from the other; and also mixed of all three genera together, and many other musical things worthy of understanding, and moreover there are several different compositions [*concenti*, literally “harmonies”] ~~twenty compositions~~ [*cantilene*, literally “songs”] only in the diatonic genus by the same author, in order to clarify for everyone that the said music that is commonly sung is not mixed of the three genera (as a certain person suggests), but is only in the diatonic genus, as everyone may judge, as the present volume intends to show.

The holes in the paper seem to result from Danckerts’s revisions and strikethroughs. The second draft, after a half title page, begins with a much simpler full title:

GHISILINO DANCKERTS | MVSICO ET CANTORE DELLA CAPELLA DEL PAPA | SOPRA VNA | DIFFERENTIA MVSICALE | SENTENTIATA | NELLA DETTA Capella. Nella quale Differentia il Venerabile Don Nicola Vicentino si è obligato di prouare, | Che niun Musico compositore sa di che genere fia la musica | che esso istesso compone. | Con vna dichiaratione facilissima Sopra i tre generi della Musica | DIATONICO CHROMATICO et ENARMONICO. Con alcuni essempli a quattro voci in ciascun di questi tre | generi, separatamente d’un dall’altro, et ancho misti, di tutti tre i generi insieme: & molte altre cose degne

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. 348r. The last five lines are canceled via a single diagonal slash. For the sake of simplicity, the translation below attempts to render Danckerts’s simplified intentions, incorporating interlineal additions and omitting most cancellations.

d'intendere. || Oltre accio ui sono .16. Cantilene a piu voci in diverfi idiomj | dal medesimo [^]Authore Ghilino nel solo | genere Diatonico | composte.¹⁰¹

Ghiselin Danckerts, musician and singer in the Papal Chapel, regarding a musical debate judged in the said Chapel. In which debate the venerable Don Nicola Vicentino was obligated to prove that no composer of music knows the genus of the music that he himself composed. With a very easy declaration regarding the three genera of music, diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. With some examples in four voices of each of these genera, one separated from the other, and also mixed of all three genera together, and many other things worth knowing. Moreover there are sixteen songs for more voices in various styles composed by the same author, Ghiselin, only in the diatonic genus.

Even up through the completion of the third draft, a fair copy, he seems not to have settled on a title. At the very bottom of the last page of the third draft, Danckerts tries out two different titles, one underneath the ending of the main text, the other crammed in the margin to the left. The marginal version appears to be the definitive version—it is headed, “È titolo dell’operetta”—but the handwriting is so small that many of the words have faded into the paper to the point of illegibility. Also unclear is where the first working title ends and the second marginal working title begins, because the first contains marginal corrections that encroach on the second’s space. Danckerts’s discomfort with the title seems to stem from its beginning with the preposition “sopra” rather than a noun. The interior of each draft refers to the work by several different nouns, alternately “trattato,” “libro,” or “operetta.” This was a significant concern, because these terms, if attached formally to a title, might alter how readers approached Danckerts’s text.

Another element over which Danckerts vacillated are the “songs” or “compositions” referred to in the title. The first draft mentions at first “twenty compositions,” which is amended to “several songs.” The second draft specifies a smaller number, “sixteen songs.” The second working title in the fair copy refers either to twelve or thirteen compositions (the faded ink is

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 382v.

difficult to read). Arnaldo Morelli has argued that this is a reference to another manuscript, I-Rsc, G. Mss. 968 (*olim* Chiesa nuova, no. 12).¹⁰² The manuscript contains eighteen compositions written in Danckerts's hand, including fifteen motets, a magnificat, and a mass cycle complete with propers and choral responsories. In this respect, Danckerts continued to ape Vicentino, who included several compositions in *L'antica musica*. But Danckerts's desire to include a greater number of compositions, and compositions of greater length, is a significant point of departure. Danckerts never published a single-author collection of his music, unlike both Lusitano and Vicentino, and only four of his compositions were scattered among printed anthologies.¹⁰³ Appending the collection of his own music to his treatise seems to have been a compensatory move for this perceived shortcoming. Had Danckerts's proposed hybrid treatise–anthology been published, it would have been a first in Roman music publishing and marked a significant achievement that might have helped advance his career in the papal choir and in clerical spheres; equally, such an unusual publication might have hurt his career by exposing him to criticism as both a composer and music theorist. During the sixteenth century, only Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (1544), Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547), and Thomas Morley's *Introduction* (1597) employ a similar hybrid concept, although only Glarean's firmly ties the anthologized compositions to concrete theoretical innovations and only Morley's contains exclusively self-authored compositions. None of the works in Danckerts's manuscript collection of compositions appeared among his sporadic publications of the 1550s and 1560s; it seems that Danckerts was saving these compositions for publication in his treatise.

¹⁰² Morelli, "Una nuova fonte."

¹⁰³ Jas, introduction to Danckerts, *The Vocal Works*, xi–xii.

The most thoroughgoing changes occurred in the paratextual matter. In the first draft, the front matter consists of a full title page, a three-page letter to the readers, and a three-page proem, all appearing before part one. The proem concludes with a brief, one-sentence synopsis of each of the work's three parts. In the second draft, the front matter consists of a half title page, a full title page, and the proem. Danckerts omits the letter to the readers, distributing its material throughout the proem and the main text. After the proem are two blank pages headed "TAVOLA" (fol. 386v–387r), after which begins part one. The only substantial textual revision to the proem appears in the synopses of each part. The synopses are the identical to those in the first draft, but the following phrase is added after each synopsis, then crossed out: "and its chapters are listed in the table above" ("& capitoli in la tavola sopra ciò ordinati," fol. 386r). At some point in composing the second draft, Danckerts intended to include a table of contents—one of the organizational devices prevalent among printed books—but changed his mind, leaving the pages reserved for the table blank and canceling the relevant phrases in the proem. The third draft, the fair copy, finds a middle ground by reconceiving of the proem. In this draft, there is no front matter at all; the proem becomes chapter one of part one. In place of the *tavola* and the short synopses of each part, Danckerts gives at the end of the proem a paragraph-length summary for each part, mentioning the specific contents of each chapter. It should also be mentioned that the third draft contains two drafts of the proem, one in Danckerts's hand with additions and alterations (fol. 566r–568v), and a copy of this into another hand incorporating these changes (fol. 570r–573r). The result is to make the proem an introduction to the work in the modern sense, drawing the listener in with a tale of calumny and intrigue, identifying the author's pretext for writing, and describing the scope and contents of the entire work. The same elements had been present in the earlier drafts, but needed tweaking to balance their respective lengths and

Table 2.1. Illustrative material in part two of Ghiselin Danckerts’s manuscript (I-Rv, Ms. R56). A check mark (✓) means that illustration is given in full, an ex (X) means that illustration is not included, and a circle (○) means that a space is left blank for the illustration to be added.

Illustration	Draft 1	Draft 2		Draft 3
		Version 1	Version 2	
Gamut	✓	X	○	X
Comparative diagram of genera	✓	✓	○	✓
Gamut partitioned into the genera	✓	X	X	X
Scales in the genera (quantity)	X	✓ (5)	○ (3)	✓ (3)
Polyphonic examples of genera (quantity)	X	✓ (5)	X	○ (4)

function. The omission of a *tavola* in each draft is curious, especially in light of the pages reserved for it in the second draft. One cannot know whether he elected to omit the table altogether or to defer the task to the printer at a later point. In either case, the changing shape of the front matter demonstrates Danckerts’s awareness of its importance and attests to the gradual formation of his conception of the work as a printed object.

Even in the first draft, Danckerts promised to include musical examples of the three genera, along with additional examples of “musical things worth knowing.” Arnaldo Morelli argues credibly that these latter examples developed in the manuscript of his compositions at I-Rsc in parallel with his drafts of the treatise.¹⁰⁴ This illustrative material is confined mostly to part two of the work; each draft contains a different reading of part two that shows an evolving idea of what this material conveys.¹⁰⁵ Table 2.1 summarizes the evolution of the illustrative material in various drafts and versions of part two. The first draft of the treatise does not contain any polyphonic examples of the genera, only three illustrative examples in part two: an illustration of the gamut common in many contemporary treatises (fol. 362r), a schematic

¹⁰⁴ Morelli, “Una nuova fonte.”

¹⁰⁵ Not accounted for in the discussion below are the short musical examples scattered throughout part three, introduced in the second draft and maintained in the third draft.

diagram comparing the interval contents of each genus of tetrachord (fol. 363*r*), and the gamut divided into each respective kind of tetrachord (fol. 369*r*).

The second draft of the manuscript has two versions of part two. The first version (fol. 395*r*–404*v*) contains a schematic diagram of the genera (fol. 395*v*), five scales in the genera (one diatonic, two chromatic, and two enharmonic, fol. 400*v*–401*r*), and five polyphonic examples, three showing each genus separately and two with different kinds of mixture (fol. 401*v*–403*v*). The diagram of the gamut present in the first draft is missing in the first version of the second draft. The second version of part two in the second draft contains no actual illustrative material, but leaves blank spaces at the relevant locations, so that it could be copied in at a later point. A blank page (fol. 416*r*) is reserved for the full gamut, present in the first draft but absent in the first version of the second draft. A half page is allocated for the comparative diagram of the genera (fol. 417*r*). A blank page is reserved for the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic scales (fol. 422*v*), but is separated into three sections, not five sections as in the first version of the second draft. The end of the second version of part two, which coincides with the end of the gathering, contains Danckerts's introduction to his polyphonic examples. It does not include the examples themselves or the concluding chapter (cf. first draft, fol. 371*r*–371*v*; and second draft, version one, fol. 404*r*–404*v*). It is possible that these were recorded on a separate gathering, now lost, or that Danckerts deemed the readings in the first version of the second draft to be sufficient.

The third draft of the manuscript, prepared by another scribe, combines elements of the first and second versions of part two in the second draft. The comparative diagram of the genera (fol. 580*v*) appears as in the previous drafts. The gamut is omitted entirely. The scales in the genera are given (fol. 587*v*), but follow the second version of draft two in reducing their number

to three, giving only one example for each genus. Finally, blank pages are reserved for the polyphonic examples; the pages are ruled and four headings are given, one each for the chromatic and enharmonic genera, and two for combinations of all three genera. Omitted in this draft is an exemplar of the diatonic genus—the title page of draft two indicates that these are to be drawn from the works of the author, presumably in the manuscript of his own compositions at I-Rsc.

The illustrations in part two undergo a dramatic transformation from draft to draft. The only element to survive intact is the comparative diagram of the genera, which is present or planned for in every draft. Danckerts appears to have equivocated about including the gamut, eliminating it in version one of draft two, then restoring it in version two of draft two, then finally eliminating in draft three. The gamut partitioned into the genera in draft one is transformed into scales in drafts two and three. Between version one and version two of draft two, Danckerts eliminated two of the scales. Finally, the polyphonic examples are introduced only in the second draft and one is eliminated from the final draft. The gamut partitioned into the genera and the scales in the genera (figures 2.6–2.8) are particularly significant, because they record Danckerts's decisions about how to present a complex theoretical idea. The transition from the gamut to scales was a natural one, as it allowed Danckerts to sidestep the issue of solmization tied to the representation of the gamut—a subject that neither Lusitano nor Vicentino dared to tackle. The scalar forms of the first version of the second draft allowed Danckerts to demonstrate that the chromatic and enharmonic genera had two different forms that hinged on whether each new tetrachord begins on the final note of the previous tetrachord or the first note after it. For the sake of simplicity, however, in the second version of the second draft and in the third draft, Danckerts gives only one scale for each genera; the chromatic and enharmonic scales

Figure 2.6. Ghiselin Danckerts's gamut, first draft. The gamut is partitioned into the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera; I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 369r.

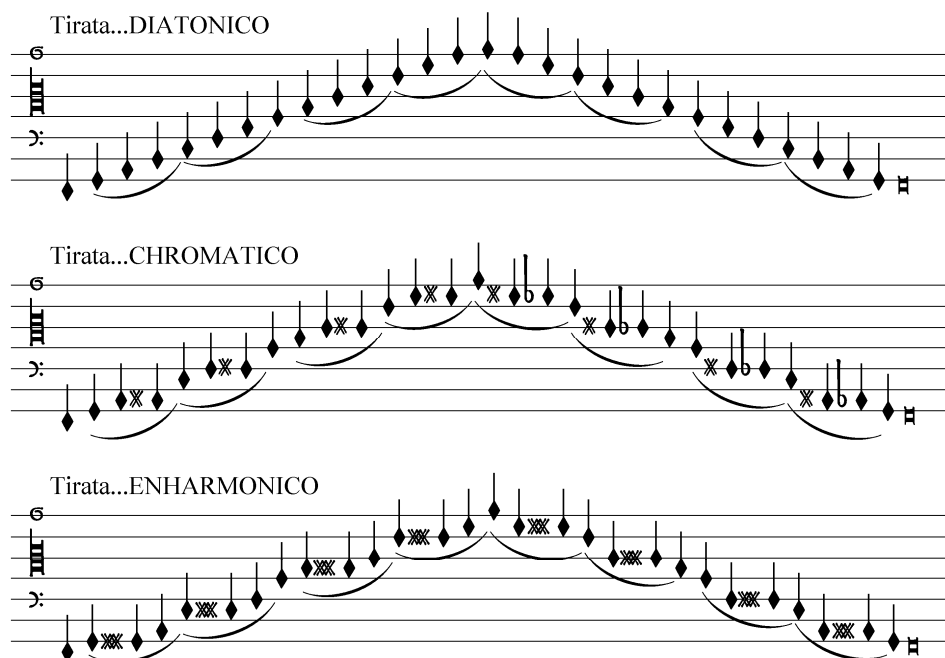


Figure 2.7. Ghiselin Danckerts's scales in the genera, second draft. I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 400v–401r.

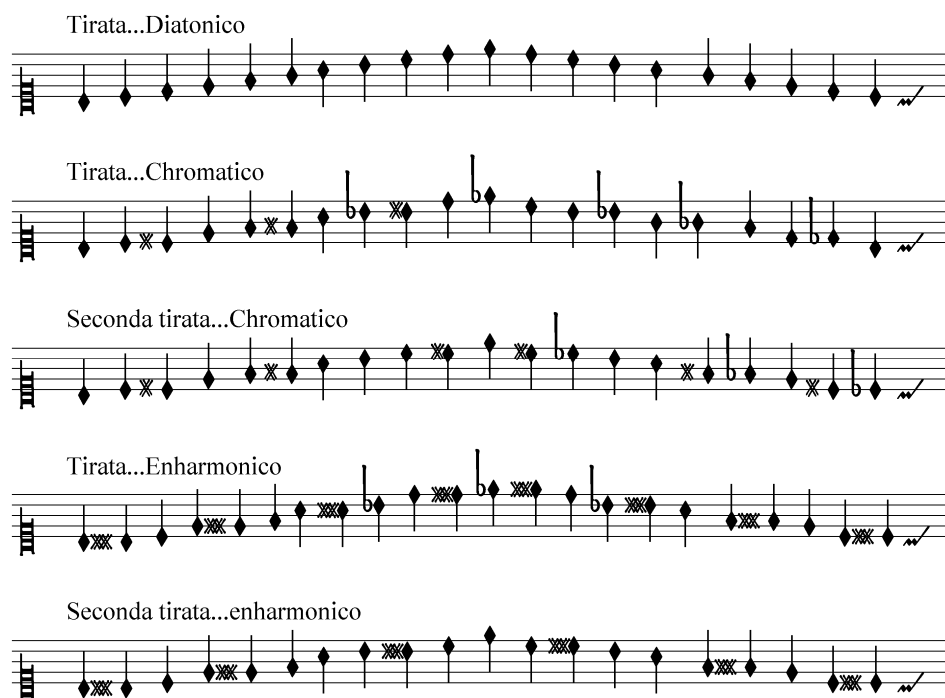
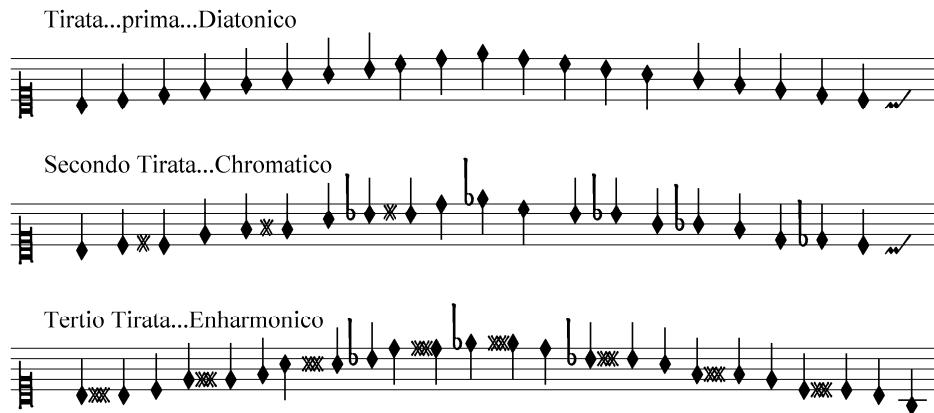


Figure 2.8. Ghiselin Danckerts's scales in the genera, third draft. I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 587r.



have the same high note, facilitating comparison between their intervallic content. The text that introduces and explains the partitioned gamut and the scalar genera remains much the same from draft to draft. The transformation of these examples shows how Danckerts attempted to master their visual presentation for the ease of reading and theoretical consistency.

One final aspect of the manuscript's presentation is Danckerts's marginal annotations in the second version of part two in the second draft. Here, Danckerts considers the genera in the works of previous music theorists. Throughout the entire version of part two, Danckerts inserts marginal keywords, including the subjects considered and the names of authorities discussed ("Pietro Aron," "Boetio," "Franchino Gaffurio," "Guido Aretino," "Macrobius," "Margarita philosophica," "Pittagorici," "ptolomeus," "Neoterici," ".S. Ambrosio," and ".S. Gregorio").¹⁰⁶ This second version of part two in the second draft is perhaps the most complete section of the entire manuscript, missing only the polyphonic examples (probably on a separate, now-lost gathering). It also presents the most coherent reading of the section; both the first draft, the first

¹⁰⁶ Of this list of authorities, only two require clarification. "Margarita philosophica" refers to Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), a humanistic compendium of the liberal arts, including a chapter on *musica*. "Neoterici" refers to the Neotericoi, a group of late Hellenic poets, including Callimachus and Theocritus. Exactly which Neoteric works Danckerts has in mind is unknown, although he claims they ascribed three properties to the hexachords.

version of the part in the second draft, and the third draft are covered with strikethrough, cancellation, and interlineal and marginal additions, sometimes to the point of illegibility. It is also worth noting that this is the last version of the manuscript that is given entirely in Danckerts's hand. The third draft records Danckerts's struggle with its copyist, who had different dialectal or linguistic preferences. (For example, Danckerts corrects "se poño" to "si possono" and "sariano" to "sarebbono," fol. 584v–585r.) The scribe also omitted many features of the second draft, including the marginal annotations. Thus, as far as the visual presentation of the manuscript is concerned, the second version of part two in the second draft preserves Danckerts's final intentions.

What is significant is that the second draft, as a whole, incorporates many framing and organizational devices typical of printed books: two title pages, a table of contents (although left blank), and marginal side notes (in the second version of part two). The second draft also witnesses the most extensive textual revisions of all the drafts. Longer chapters are shortened, terminology is standardized (e.g., "concenti," "compositioni," "canti," "cantilene" are rendered in most cases as "cantilene"), syntax is simplified, and arguments are clarified. Although this is typical of the writing process in general, I suggest that these particular changes reflect Danckerts's attempts to conceive of the work as a printed object. His efforts to clear up and improve the form and content of the manuscript shed important light on how authors prepared a work for publication. As we have seen, these included not merely cosmetic revisions, but deep, substantive changes to the text and illustrations and their manner of presentation.

It is all the more curious, then, that the manuscript never was printed and published. There are several possible explanations. The most immediate is that Danckerts may have lacked the time and energy needed to finalize the manuscript. It also is possible, given the work's arcane

subject matter and the length of time elapsed since the debate, that Danckerts was unable to attract a publisher's interest or that he himself lost interest in the project or lacked funds to support its publication himself. Indeed, I show in chapter three that every Roman music publisher working during the 1550s had already published on the subject of ancient Greek music theory; it seems unlikely that any of these publishers would dilute sales of previously-released works by printing Danckerts's new work.

Despite not being published, the treatise managed to attain a certain level notoriety, as it was known by many musicians well after Danckerts's death. The most extensive citation of it is Giovanni Maria Artusi's *L'Artusi, overo Delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (1600), which gives a short account of the debate between Lusitano and Vicentino in the form of a dialogue between two friends, Luca and Vario, set at Ferrara in November 1598. Although Artusi, with Vario as his mouthpiece, agrees that Lusitano rightfully won the debate, he concedes that Vicentino's argument was correct, but that Vicentino lacked the ability to articulate why.¹⁰⁷ As the fame of the Lusitano–Vicentino debate embedded itself in music-historical memory and imagination, Danckerts's manuscripts emerged as the most reliable account of the proceedings. Both John Hawkins and Charles Burney used Danckerts's narration of the affair in their eighteenth-century histories of music.¹⁰⁸ During the early nineteenth-century, Giuseppe Baini, *maestro di cappella* of the Papal Chapel and Palestrina scholar, prepared an edition of Danckerts's manuscript for his own use, now I-Rc, Ms. 2880 (*olim* O.III.118). Baini's pupil

¹⁰⁷ “Voglio concludirvi che Don Nicola havea ragione, à tenere questa Conclusionione; Che la Musica, che si canta & suona sia una mescolanza, di diversi generi insieme; ma il non saperla dire per le sue cause propinque, le fecero ben perdere la scommessa fatta col Lusitano.” Artusi, *L'Artusi* (1600), fol. 38r. In the entire passage on the debate (fol. 37v–38r), Artusi cites Danckerts by name only once, although his opinions about Vicentino's distortions and imprecision clearly follow Danckerts's arguments.

¹⁰⁸ Hawkins, *General History*, 1:116–126, 3:89–98, 3:208–209, and 4:*passim*; and Burney, *General History*, 3:161–62.

Adrian de La Fage prepared his own study of the debate from this copy, which for many years stood as the most authoritative account of the debate.¹⁰⁹

Crafting Zarlino's legacy

Cristle Collins Judd has argued that Zarlino's publications constituted "an attempt to position himself for an appointment like the one at San Marco."¹¹⁰ Judd has suggested furthermore that "with remarkable canniness, Zarlino masterfully and meticulously manipulated his public image through the medium of print over a forty-year period beginning with [his] first publication in 1549."¹¹¹ In short, Zarlino exploited his skill as a writer and eventually his position as *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica di San Marco to create a lasting legacy. I offer here a contrasting approach to Judd's perspective on Zarlino's publishing career. The focus of her study is the sequence and timing of Zarlino's various publications. I trace instead successive editions of a single publication, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, showing how their changing bibliographical shape functioned to consolidate Zarlino's authority. His broader career strategies, as articulated by Judd, resemble a milder and less calculated version of Lusitano's *succès de scandale*. What I intend to demonstrate here is a concern not necessarily with getting ahead, but rather with getting it right. By situating Zarlino within what Anthony Grafton has termed a "culture of correction," I aim to demonstrate Zarlino's attempts to make his writings more coherent and accessible to readers.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ La Fage, *Essais de Diphthérogaphie musicale*, 224–39.

¹¹⁰ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 183.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹¹² Grafton, *The Culture of Correction*. Judd, "Giuseffo Zarlino's *Pater Noster–Ave Maria*" makes a similar argument about Zarlino's process of revising a single motet through several publications.

Table 2.2. Summary of editions of Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*. All editions published in Venice.

Year	Notes
1558	1st ed., printed anonymously by Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, possibly published by Pietro da Fino. New issues in 1561 and 1562 by Francesco de' Franceschi Senese.
1573	2nd ed., printed and published by Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. Substantial revision of 1st ed.: layout cleaned up; <i>tavole</i> and marginal citations added; definite article dropped from title, paired with <i>Dimostrationi harmoniche</i> (1571).
1589	3rd ed., printed and published by Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. Slight revision of 2nd ed.: further typographical cleanup and marginal citations; issued as vol. 1 of <i>De tutte l'opere del R. M. Gioseffo Zarlino</i> .
1602	New issue of vols. 1 and 2 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i> (1589), published by Giovanni Antonio and Giacomo de' Franceschi; titled <i>Institutioni et dimostrationi di musica</i> ; another issue in 1622.

The printing history of *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (summarized in table 2.2) is a complicated matter, which I will treat briefly here only as it relates the present argument. The printing and publishing of the first edition of 1558 is a problematic, as its title page contains the device of Pietro da Fino, a Venetian bookseller, and the typographical material, including the single-impression musical type of Francesco Marcolini.¹¹³ This suggests that the edition was commissioned, although the identity of its underwriters remain obscure; the length and typographical complexity of the treatise would have required a substantial outlay of capital for the book's publisher. Further copies of the treatise appeared in 1561 and 1562, each with the device and name of Francesco de' Franceschi Senese appearing on the title page.¹¹⁴ These are not new editions, but rather separate issues of the 1558 edition. That is, Franceschi discarded all of

¹¹³ Compare, for example, the typographical materials used in Zarlino's *Istitutioni* (1558) and Marcolini's edition of Lusitano's *Introduttione* (1558). It is not widely known that Marcolini printed music after the 1530s, when he used the multiple-impression method. Armelli, "Francesco Marcolini" recently discovered that Marcolini was commissioned to print four musical editions for Plinio Pietrasanta in 1557; these editions use the same typographical materials as the Lusitano and Zarlino editions. I am at work on a larger study of Marcolini's printing of Zarlino's *Istitutioni*.

¹¹⁴ RISM lists two copies of the *Istitutioni* dated 1572, which appear to be a further issue of the first edition. Their existence must be doubted, because neither copy is available today; both libraries do, however, possess copies of the 1562 issue: CZ-Bm, shelfmark D 546; and F-Pm, shelfmark 2° 4749 A.

the first sheets from the remaining copies of the first edition, which contained the title page, privilege, and errata list, then printed as needed a replacement sheet with new versions of these pages; the only changes on these replacement sheets are the year of publication and the wording of the full title. Copies of this new sheet were then combined with the remaining old sheets to form a separate issue of the first edition. Only a year later, in 1562, Franceschi released a further issue of the *Istitutioni* with a second revised date of publication.

The motivations behind these issues are unclear. Judd correlates them to the declining health of Willaert, of whose will Zarlino is named executor.¹¹⁵ (He died 7 December 1562.) In this interpretation, Zarlino released a new issue at each morbid anticipation of Willaert's passing. Careerism may well have played a role in the release of these issues, but I propose another, more mundane, explanation: these issues relate to Franceschi's developing activities as a publisher. I will show in chapter three that Franceschi's first publication was a new book by Zarlino, the *Utilissimo trattato della patientia* (1561). It seems plausible to suggest that, around the same time, Franceschi purchased the unsold stock of the 1558 edition of the *Istitutioni* to sell at his shop alongside the *Trattato*. This stock—whether previously held by Zarlino, da Fino, Marcolini, or some combination of the three—represented a significant financial investment yielding little return; Franceschi may have acquired it at a heavily-discounted wholesale price. Another plausible explanation might be a quid pro quo arrangement between Franceschi and Zarlino; in return for printing the new sheet for the *Istitutioni*, Zarlino permitted Franceschi to publish the *Trattato*. In either case, the appearance in close proximity of Zarlino's *Trattato* and two new issues of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* represents the beginning of a fruitful business relationship with Franceschi.

¹¹⁵ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 196.

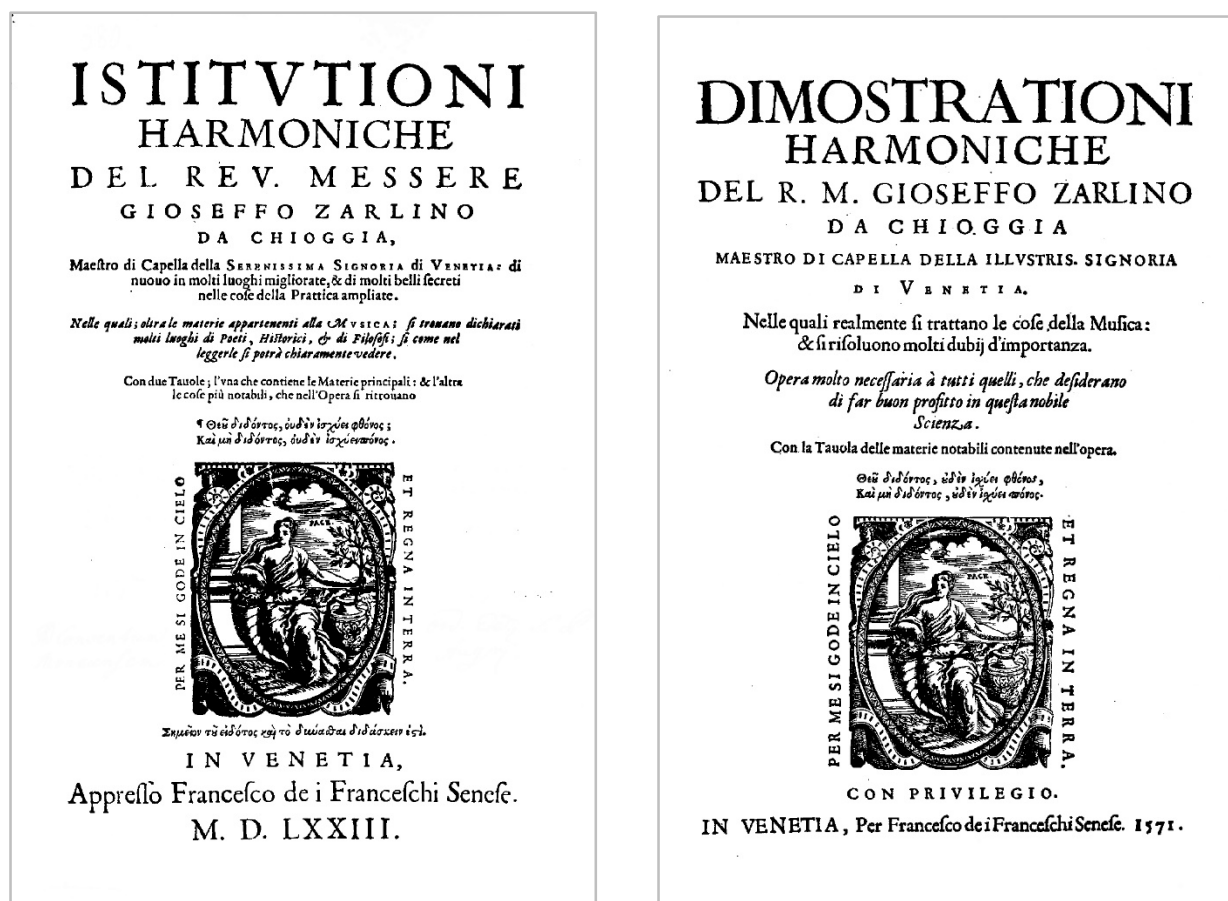
In 1573, Franceschi published a completely new edition of Zarlino's *Istitutioni*. The book's material evolution records important changes in the author's conception of both this work and his broader oeuvre. The textual transformation of the treatise is fairly well known and has been discussed at length by other scholars.¹¹⁶ The most important revision is Zarlino's reordering of the twelve modes, from pairs of authentic/plagal modes on D–E–F–G–A–C to pairs of modes on C–D–E–F–G–A. The material evolution of the book is less well documented and reflects important changes in Zarlino's professional circumstances and approach to crafting the book's ideal presentation.

A number of paratextual changes that appear in the 1573 edition merit further discussion. First, the title page advertises numerous revisions to the work (“newly improved in many passages and amplified with many beautiful secrets about practical matters”).¹¹⁷ In 1565, Zarlino had been appointed to the post of *maestro di cappella* at San Marco. The title page of this new edition—like those of his 1566 motet print and his 1571 *Dimostrationsi harmoniche*—proudly announces his appointment. Furthermore, the 1573 edition is styled simply *Istitutioni harmoniche*, omitting the definite article “le” from the title of the 1558 edition. This seemingly minor alteration intimates a new conception of the book. Zarlino first proposed reordering the modes in the *Dimostrationsi*, published two years prior; Zarlino revised the *Istitutioni* to adopt this revision. The close resemblance between the title pages of the 1573 *Istitutioni* and the 1571 *Dimostrationsi* (figure 2.9) suggest that they were sold as matching companion volumes. Many surviving copies of the books are bound together in one volume; indeed, several surviving copies

¹¹⁶ See in particular Crocker, “Perchè Zarlino”; and Da Col, “The Tradition and Science.”

¹¹⁷ “di nuovo in molti luoghi migliorate, & di molti belli secreti nelle cose della Prattica ampliate.” Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1573), sig. π1r.

Figure 2.9. Comparison of title pages. Left: Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1573), sig. π1r. Right: Gioseffo Zarlino, *Dimostrationi harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1571), sig. π1r.



of the 1562 issue of the *Istitutioni* are bound with the *Dimostrationi*, suggesting that this pairing strategy began before 1573.¹¹⁸

Second, Zarlino adds marginal citations to classical authorities in the 1573 edition. These are sprinkled lightly throughout the treatise to provide references for some of Zarlino's allusions and quotations. Also a seemingly minor addition, these signal an expansion in the potential

¹¹⁸ I-Rsc (shelfmark G.CS.2.D.27.1), US-R (shelfmark Vault ML171.Z37d, *Dimostrationi* bound first), and US-Wcm (shelfmark ML171.Z35 1571, also includes Zarlino's 1588 *Sopplimenti musicali*). A number of copies of the 1562 *Istitutioni* are bound with the 1571 *Dimostrationi*, such as at I-Vnm (shelfmark Musica 87) and US-Ws (shelfmark ML171 .Z3 17 1562). These lists are not exhaustive. Burney, *General History*, 3:162 was the first to note the pairing of the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi* in period bindings.

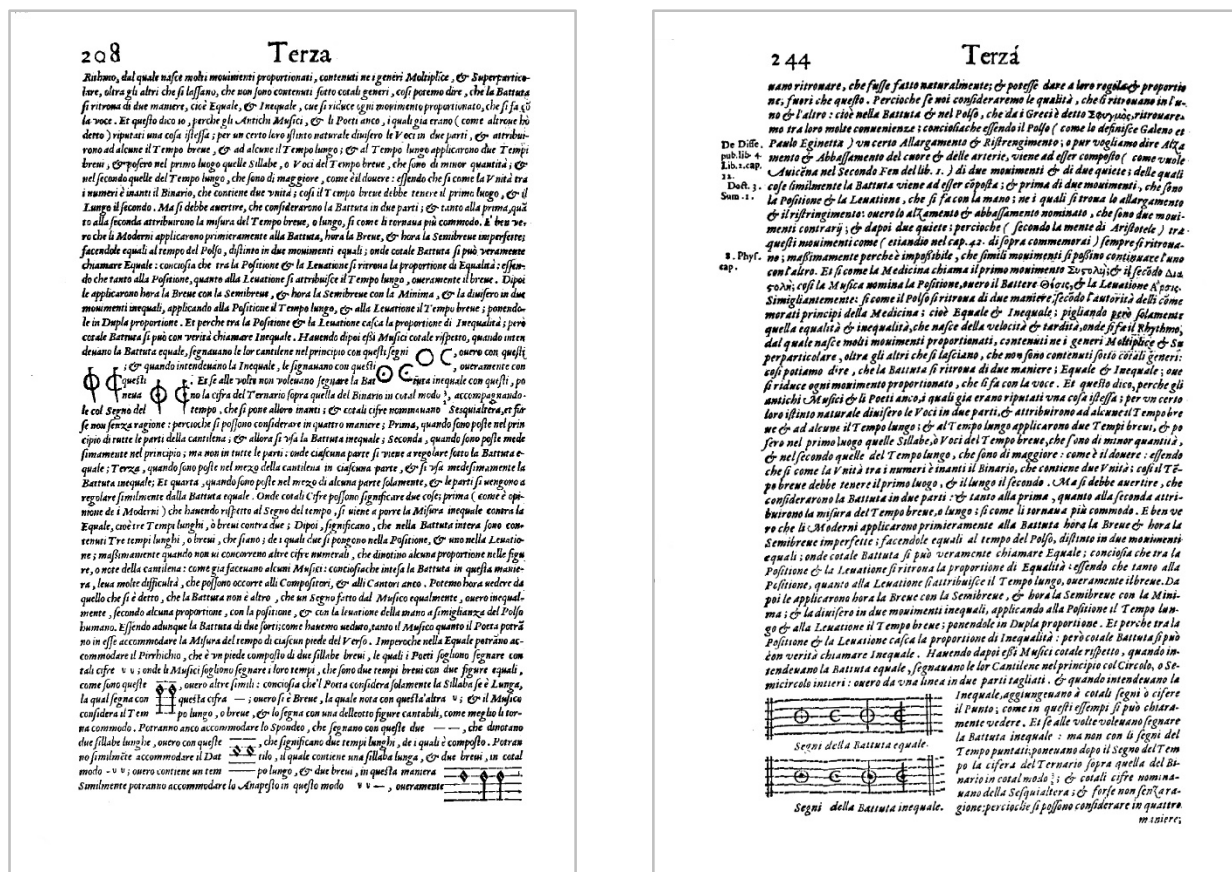
readership of Zarlino's work. The 1558 edition (and its issues in 1561 and 1562) contained no authorial annotations to the text, suggesting an assumption that readers would be familiar with the sources embedded in the text (or that would not be interested in pursuing them any further). The marginal citations in the 1573 edition might indicate that Zarlino and Franceschi sought to make the work more accessible to those without extensive humanistic or musical training. In this regard, Zarlino's notes represent a larger attempt to promote the vibrancy of classical literature to new readers, especially considering that the marginalia refer almost exclusively to classical and medieval sources.¹¹⁹ These were clearly an effective tool for potential readers; their number is nearly doubled in the third edition of 1589. One might also interpret the addition of marginal notes in the 1573 and 1589 editions as Zarlino's attempts to bolster his intellectual credentials, especially in light of the critiques of Vincenzo Galilei and others.

Third, Zarlino adds a subject index to the back of the volume. This complements the table of contents that also appeared at the front of the edition. Zarlino plays up these two *tavole* on the 1573 title page, suggesting their use as ways of navigating the text: "with two tables, one which contains the principal subjects, and another which contains the more notable things invoked in the work."¹²⁰ The table of contents (sig. $\pi 3r-5v$) straightforwardly lists chapter titles and their page references. The twenty-page index (sig. $a1r-b4v$) provides page references for subject entries arranged alphabetically. Entries are divided evenly between musical topics (e.g., "Arte del Contrapunto quello che sia, 171") and nonmusical topics (e.g., "Autorità di Avicenna esplicata, 35"). Both *tavole* might have offered the reader powerful tools for searching Zarlino's

¹¹⁹ Grafton, *Footnote*, 190–222. The only contemporary source that Zarlino cites with any frequency is Gaffurius, *Practica musice*; see also the discussion in appendix one.

¹²⁰ "con due tavole; l'una che contiene le Materie principali; & l'altra le cose più notabili, che nell'Opera si ritrovano" Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1573), sig. $\pi 1r$.

Figure 2.10. Comparison of page layouts. Left: Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: s.n., 1558), 208. Right: Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1573), 244.



book. The index functions along similar lines as the marginal citations, allowing the reader to scan the contents of the book without reading it. The index also hints at topics that Zarlino and Franceschi expected sellers to find interesting, especially in light of the disproportionate representation of classical topics in the index as compared to their minimal, if still respectable showing in the main text. The *tavole* clearly were useful contrivances for selling the book.

Finally, the 1573 edition corrects numerous typographical infelicities in the 1558 edition. One example typifies the care taken in cleaning up the page (figure 2.10). In a chapter in the middle of part three Zarlino describes and illustrates the different mensuration signs. In the 1558 edition (chapter 48), these are run-in with the prose, breaking up the visual flow. In the 1573

edition (chapter 49), these signs are brought together and printed as one group on the edge of the text block. Notable, too, is that the first edition uses woodcuts and the second edition uses type to reproduce the mensuration signs. The latter solution is simpler from the perspective of the typesetter, and clarifies the overall scope and argument of the chapter. The second edition witnesses Zarlino and Franceschi attempting to perfect the work by ensuring ease of use, readability, and even profitability.

In sum, the paratexts to the 1573 edition show that Zarlino and Franceschi worked together closely to position it within the marketplace. Zarlino and the bookmen involved in printing, publishing, and selling the first edition learned a valuable lesson from the fifteen-year period required to sell off the stock: consider one's readership. Its conception as a companion volume to the *Dimostrations* brought new texts to new readers; indeed, Zarlino's new approach to ordering the modes might have been the main contributing factor in the publication of the 1573 *Istitutioni*. The marginal annotations, *tavole*, and cosmetic facelifts transformed reader perceptions of the text from a continuous, undigested narrative into a coherent collection of discrete ideas. This made the edition more reader-friendly, accessible to new audiences, and emphasized trends in the reception of classical thought—all while making relatively few changes to the text-proper. Furthermore, like the *Trattato* of 1561, the 1573 edition of the *Istitutioni* functioned as a cross-promotional platform for his publications of music; compositions from Zarlino's 1566 motet print are discussed throughout the 1573 edition.¹²¹ Whereas Judd argues that Zarlino possessed a preternatural understanding of print culture, I suggest instead that the 1573 edition demonstrates recovery from a steep learning curve, negotiated in close coordination with Franceschi.

¹²¹ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 242–56.

Zarlino published in 1588 and 1589 an *opera omnia* in four volumes under the title *De tutte l'opere del R. M. Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia*. By this point, Zarlino was in his seventies, approaching the end of a distinguished career. This was a momentous achievement for any living writer, reserved for the likes of Erasmus and Martin Luther.¹²² As the first volume of his complete works, the *Istitutioni* was Zarlino's proudest accomplishment. Although the text is largely the same as the 1573 edition, it reflects further changes in Zarlino's conception of his life's work. The publication of different works together in series reflects an intellectual continuity that was only latent in the separately-printed earlier editions. Although ostensibly a defense against attacks from Vincenzo Galilei, the *Sopplimenti musicali* (volume three, but the first to be printed) allows Zarlino to discuss explicitly the connections between the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationsi*.¹²³ The collected works manifest Zarlino's belief that all his different prose publications, even nonmusical ones, were unified under a single field of inquiry. Each volume reflects increased attention to the needs of readers, including further typographical cleanups and marginal citations. Furthermore, the subject index placed at the back of the second edition is promoted to the front of the volume—an indication of its importance and utility for readers. In short, Zarlino's complete-works edition consolidates his authority and crafts his legacy as a writer on the subjects of music, poetry, history, philosophy, and religion. The 1589 edition also restores the definite article "le" to the title (*L'istitutioni harmoniche*), which might suggest a return to the claim of intellectual completeness in this final edition.

The multivolume edition trades on Zarlino's status as an eminent figure in Venetian civic life. Lengthy works on difficult subjects, Zarlino's music treatises needed to be positioned

¹²² Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 82–86.

¹²³ Goldberg, "Purging Heretics through Music Theory."

carefully within the market for printed books. The *Sopplimenti* drew public attention to the ongoing dispute between Zarlino and Galilei, acting as a promotion for the soon-to-arrive *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi*, which aimed to offer definitive statements on the subject (“now reprinted together, newly corrected, expanded, and improved”).¹²⁴ The subjects of the essays in the fourth volume—calendric reform, chronology, the growth of religious orders, and theology—were all of public interest and proven sellers.¹²⁵ By publishing these as the fourth volume, Franceschi tapped into growing trends in book collecting. These essays would be the main draw for many buyers, who would be loath to buy only the last of a multivolume set. Indeed, many copies of the set survive complete in contemporary bindings.¹²⁶

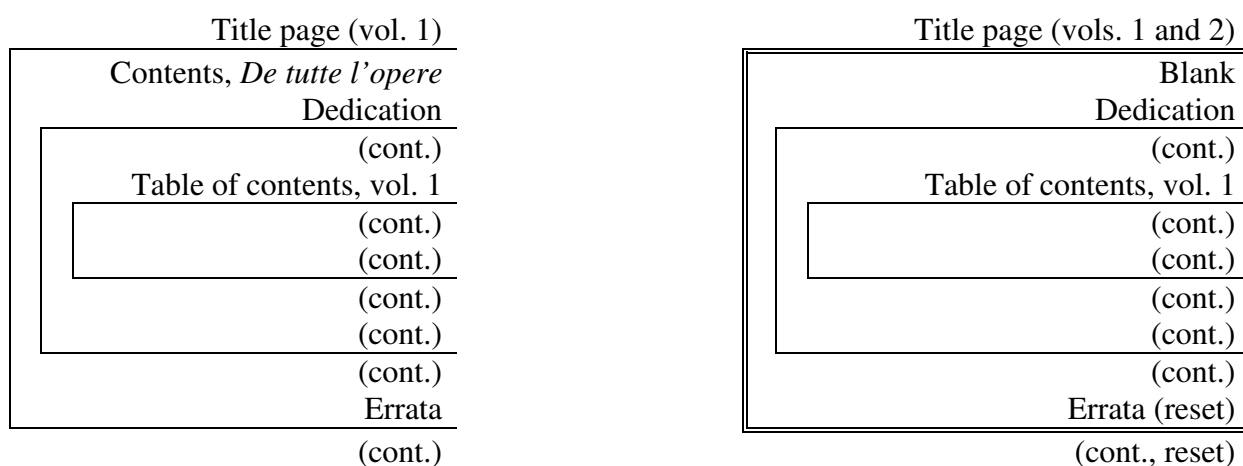
At the onset of the seventeenth century, Giovanni Antonio and Giacomo de’ Franceschi, faced a problem. Zarlino had died in 1590 and Francesco de’ Franceschi Senese in 1599, leaving the Franceschi heirs with a large stock of unsold copies of volumes one and two of Zarlino’s *De tutte l’opere*. The Franceschi firm followed a well-worn tactic in rereleasing these volumes, once in 1602 and again in 1622, but took lengthy measures to create these issues, which combined the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi* into a single volume. Although releasing issues of old works was common practice (as was the case with Franceschi’s issues of Marcolini’s first edition), thirty-three years (from 1589 to 1622) was an extraordinarily long time to attempt to sell a work. Making a revised title page for the combined volume was not difficult—copies of the first sheet of the *Istitutioni* were discarded and a replacement was printed up with a revised title page and a reset errata list on the conjugate leaf. A comparison of two copies reveals that the initial imprint

¹²⁴ “hora di nuovo corrette, accresciute, et migliorate, insieme ristampate.” Zarlino, *De tutte l’opere*, 1: sig. a1r.

¹²⁵ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 77 and 335–37.

¹²⁶ See, for example, the copies at B-Bc (shelfmark NN 9946), D-Mbs (shelfmark 2° Mus. th. 588), and I-Vgc (shelfmark MAL T 230).

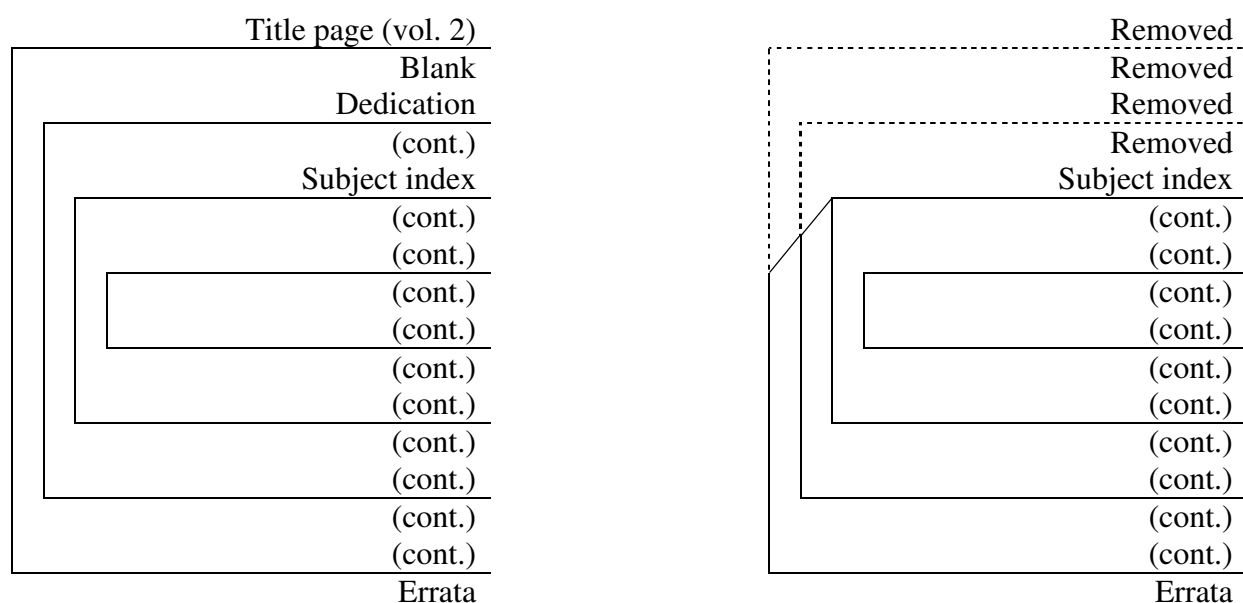
for this newly-made first sheet included only the numerals “MDC.” The copy at the I-Rsc (shelfmark G.CS.D.2.23) bears the date of publication 1602. The copy at the I-Bc (shelfmark C.44) and US-Bp (shelfmark **M.388.39) witness the date of publication 1622. In both copies, the numerals “II” and “XXII” are slightly offset the baseline of the “MDC,” demonstrating that the precise year of publication was added at intervals.¹²⁷ The structure of these first gatherings, both signed *a*, are as follows. In the schematic, the 1589 edition appears on the left and the 1602/1622 issues appear on the right. The doubled line represents the newly-printed sheet.



Adjusting the second volume (the *Dimostrationi*) required more extensive doctoring to the unsold copies. The first gathering of the volume originally consisted of four sheets comprising eight leaves: a title page, dedication, subject index, and errata list. The leaves containing the title page and dedication needed to be removed, but their conjugate leaves (which contained the end of the index and the errata) needed to remain. One solution was to reset anew the index and errata list as a gathering of six leaves. This, however, would have taken time and money, not to mention more paper. Instead, the Franceschi firm sheared the first two sheets in

¹²⁷ Palisca, introduction to Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, xx asserts that this is a reprint of the 1589 volumes and that the date of some copies is “effaced and replaced with 1622.” This is an issue, not a reprint of the 1589 edition and the copies at I-Bc and US-Bp bear no signs of effacement.

half, discarded the title pages and dedications, and pasted the remaining half-sheets onto a stub, which was then pasted to the outside of the remaining two sheets. This resulted in a composite gathering of six leaves that contained only the index and errata, which was placed at the back of the volume. When sold to buyers, the *Institutioni et dimostrationi di musica* consisted of the two volumes from 1589 jerry-rigged into one enormous volume of 780 pages. These gatherings, also both signed *a*, are as follows. In the schematic, the 1589 edition appears on the left and the 1602/1622 issues appear on the right. The dashed lines represent removed leaves. Diagonal lines represent pasted-in supports.



Printing technology enabled writers to reach an international community, while raising their status within the local sphere. The shifting bibliographical shape of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* reveals that this was not an automatic, effortless process—authors and their publishers had to work together carefully to achieve this type of success. I have argued that the editions of 1573 and 1589 were situated carefully within a network of multilayered publishing strategies designed to avoid the lengthy period required to sell off the stock of the 1558 editions. Franceschi's heirs continued and extended these strategies in selling off the stock of the 1589 edition during the

early seventeenth century. In chapter three, I will consider further Francesco de' Franceschi's cooperation in this process and his own marketing initiatives.

Conclusion

The case studies exemplify how authors engaged printing technology in different ways.

Lusitano's motet collection prompted a scandal that resulted in the publication of a treatise that was printed three times. Vicentino attempted to rescue his professional reputation by publishing a fuller account of the encounter with Lusitano. Danckerts, too, attempted to cash in on his newfound notoriety by setting to work on his own account of the proceedings and correcting Vicentino's errors. Zarlino's treatise earned him a coveted position, which allowed him to continue composing, theorizing, and writing. Anxiety unifies these interrelated tales. In this chapter, I have shown that printing technology was a tool that did not guarantee success or failure. All of the authors I have considered had to exercise extreme caution throughout their publishing activities. There was a very real risk of publishing a book that no one wanted to buy or that seemed to serve no broader purpose. Clearly these were fraught ventures. Bonnie Blackburn has shown that, at the same time, authors had to consider the dangers of being scooped or making the wrong enemies.¹²⁸

In short, this chapter has examined how authors adapted their books about music to the medium of print. This adaptation could assume multiple forms. One of these forms was textual and bibliographical—authors adapted their books to anticipate, conform to, and even subvert the expectations of readers. The evolution of Danckerts's and Zarlino's works demonstrate the importance of visual presentation in positioning books as printed objects. Danckerts's constant

¹²⁸ Blackburn, "Publishing Music Theory."

revisions show how his manuscripts gradually assumed the shape of a printed book. Zarlino's *Istitutioni* accumulated by degrees the textual and paratextual aids that readers came to expect. Another form that this adaptation took was social and behavioral—authors learned to take actions that dovetailed with their publishing interests. In this respect, Lusitano seems to have had a masterful and instinctive understanding of how to manipulate printing technology and real-world events, much to Vicentino's detriment. In the chapter that follows, I pursue this idea from the complementary perspectives of printers, publishers, and booksellers, showing how the medium of print adapted to Renaissance books about music.

CHAPTER THREE: PRINTERS

This chapter explores the perspectives of the bookmen responsible for producing, financing, and disseminating printed Renaissance books about music. Such books came to light through a complex process that involved many different craftsmen and tradesmen traditionally divided into three occupational categories, printers (*tipografi*), publishers (*editori*), and booksellers (*librai*).¹ Although its title addresses only printers, this chapter considers the individuals and firms who acted in all three capacities, as operators of presses, as sponsors of editions and series, and as sellers of books printed and published in-house or otherwise. This chapter also emphasizes the fluidity and flexibility with which individuals undertook this variety of tasks and objectives. Such a treatment of the book trade allows us to consider the intersections among their different kinds of work, foregrounding their agency in shaping the expression of music and ideas rather than relegating them to the status of neutral conduits or middlemen.

I begin with an overview of how printers designed and shaped their books. By examining the designs of Renaissance books about music, we may recover significant aspects of the social and bibliographical function of these books. This allows us to see not only how authors and readers perceived printers' profiles, but also how printers targeted authors and pitched their products to the reading public. I then turn to one particular technical innovation, scores printed from moveable type, exploring the negotiations between authors and printers to produce books

¹ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 25–35.

that were simultaneously well-designed for readers and cost-effective for printers. Finally, I explore the subject of advertising and the association of music theorists and their works with particular printers. The unifying focus of this chapter is the ways that printers facilitated interactions between authors and readers, whether through typography or marketing.

Book design in Renaissance books about music

In a classic essay, historian of typography Beatrice Warde argued that typographical design complements and enhances the text itself. She compares the material form of a text to a crystal goblet, showing how it acts to transmit and expose ideas:

Imagine that you have before you a flagon of wine. You may choose your own favourite vintage for this imaginary demonstration, so that it be a deep shimmering crimson in colour. You have two goblets before you. One is of solid gold, wrought in the most exquisite patterns. The other is of crystal-clear glass, thin as a bubble, and as transparent. Pour and drink; and according to your choice of goblet, I shall know whether or not you are a connoisseur of wine. For if you have no feelings about wine one way or the other, you will want the sensation of drinking the stuff out of a vessel that may have cost thousands of pounds; but if you are a member of that vanishing tribe, the amateurs of fine vintages, you will choose the crystal, because everything about it is calculated to *reveal* rather than to hide the beautiful thing which it was meant to *contain*.²

Warde further extends the wine-glass metaphor, comparing the stem of a goblet to the margins of a book (which allow one to partake of the thing without touching it) and the leading of lines to the base of the goblet (which provide a foundation for observing the thing). Her ultimate point is that printing “conveys thought, ideas, images, from one mind to other minds.”³

This section focuses on Warde’s idea of the nonverbal conveyance of expressive meaning through typography. The expressive meaning of typography in music books has not yet played a

² Warde, “The Crystal Goblet,” 11.

³ Ibid., 13.

significant role in the study of music and print culture.⁴ Bibliographer D. F. McKenzie has argued for the importance of how “the material forms of books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning.”⁵ In the field of musicology, Jessie Ann Owens has proposed “the importance of working directly with [books about music] themselves, and of learning to understand the significance of their material forms.”⁶ I surveyed in chapter two the textual and paratextual features that came increasingly to characterize printed books about music; in chapter four, I will show that these features were of immense value to readers, allowing them to make sense of their often-confusing books. Here, I explore the points of connection between authors’ words and readers’ bodies, showing how printers contributed further layers of meaning and value to their books through design and typography. I begin by surveying the basic elements of book design, then propose three basic archetypes for the design of Renaissance books about music. By examining these instances of *mise-en-page*, I hope to indicate the importance of modes of bibliographical and typographical signification, what Jerome McGann has called “bibliographic codes” (visual or otherwise nonverbal cues to readers about the texts they accompany), which have not yet played a significant role in music scholarship.⁷

Basic elements of book design

One instance of continuity between the worlds of printed books and manuscripts is the consistency of design between these otherwise very different commercial goods: no matter their

⁴ A recent musicological exploration of expressive typography is van Orden, “Printed Music.”

⁵ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 17.

⁶ Owens, “You Can Tell a Book by Its Cover,” 378.

⁷ McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 77.

means of production, most codices followed the conventions of textual production and reception.⁸ Printers developed ways of designing books that borrowed from scribal traditions; indeed, the first generations of printers were composed primarily of former scribes.⁹ This section describes those elements of design particular to the printer's domain: the relationship between text-block, page size, and margins; columnar layout; and typeface selection. This lays the foundation in the subsequent section for a basic typology of design in Renaissance books about music.

The principal element of a book's design is the text-block—the area of the page in which the body of the text appears.¹⁰ The text-block is measured in two ways, by the maximum number of lines per page (its height) and the maximum number of characters per line (its width, called the measure). The size of the text-block is a function of page size, itself a function of the book's format.¹¹ I will show in chapter four that a book's format (and therefore its page size) was related to its subject matter and intended audience; for example, learned books were typically in larger formats, whereas textbooks and popular literature were typically in smaller formats. Another feature that shaped the text-block was the margins. Various kinds of paratextual matter could be added to the margins: headlines, folios, side notes, catchwords, signatures, and so forth. The size and placement of the text-block conditioned the ways that readers interfaced with the page. A page with too many lines of text, an overly long measure, or very narrow margins appeared

⁸ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 77–78.

⁹ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 21–42.

¹⁰ This description of the text-block draws from Brinhurst, *Elements of Typographical Style*, 143–78; and Williamson, *Methods of Book Design*, 143–69.

¹¹ Another significant factor in shaping page size and the text-block was the size of paper sheets, which came in various standard sizes that varied significantly by region. Gaskell, *Introduction*, 67. For paper sizes in books of music, see Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 62–64.

Table 3.1. One classic example of proportional page design. After Tschicold, “Consistent Correlation,” 46. This example matches closely Heinrich Petri’s design of Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), which has page and text-block ratios of 3:2, but margin ratios of 4:3:2:1, another common design.

Attribute	Dimensions (mm)		Ratio
Page	Height	300	3:2
	Width	200	
Text-block	Height	200	3:2
	Width	133	
Margins	Bottom	66	6:4:3:2
	Outer	44	
	Top	33	
	Inner	22	

cluttered and impenetrable. Conversely, a page with too few lines of text, an overly short measure, or very wide margins appeared bloated and inconsequential. Striking an optimal balance between page size, margin size, and placement of the text-block ensured an optimal layout for readers. There were many different solutions to this problem; the differences between these solutions suggested information about the intended genre classification, audience, and social or regional context of a given text.

Historians of book design have observed a consistent proportional relationship between the dimensions of the page, text-block, and margins in Renaissance books.¹² For example, most sheets of paper were manufactured in simple ratios, which also meant that the dimensions of most books’ leaves were in simple ratios: broadsides, quartos, and duodecimos have wider page dimensions with the ratio of 4:3; folios, octavos, and sextodecimos have narrower page dimensions with the ratio of 3:2. In one frequently-employed layout, the height of the text-block is equal to the width of the leaf; the measure (width) of the text-block is established by mirroring the ratios of the leaf dimensions (table 3.1). The text-block is then positioned on the page such

¹² See the annotated bibliography in Tschichold, “Consistent Correlation,” 62–64.

that the dimensions of the bottom, outer, top, and inner margins are in a respective ratio of 6:4:3:2.

The literature on this subject describes these relationships as harmonious in a casual sense, merely evoking its musical meaning.¹³ I wish to highlight the harmony of this design in a more literal sense. The relationship between single pages and two-page spreads relies on the concept of inverse proportions. Historically speaking, the simplest method of finding these proportions was to conceive of them as musical intervals. The proportion 3:2 represents the diapente (interval of the perfect fifth) and the proportion 4:3 represents the diatessaron (interval of the perfect fourth); their relationship by inversion was most easily demonstrable by reference to musical terminology. The dimensions of the margins manifest a preference for simple harmonic ratios. The language for expressing these numerical and proportional relationships was pioneered first within the field of music theory by Pythagoras and perfected by Boethius.¹⁴ Even during the Renaissance, notions of music as a branch of philosophy continued to be bound up in the study of proportions and proportionality.¹⁵

The proportions of the margins in the example above (6:4:3:2) are familiar to musicologists from the debate over Guillaume Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores*, composed for the consecration of the Basilica di Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence in 1453. In 1973, Charles Warren claimed that the proportional lengths of sections of the motet mirrored the architectural proportions of the basilica; in 1994, Craig Wright argued instead that the motet

¹³ Rosarivo, *Divina proporción tipográfica*; and van de Graaf, "Nieuwe berekening voor de vormgeving."

¹⁴ Herlinger, "Medieval Canonics," 168–70; and Bower, introduction to Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, xix–xliv.

¹⁵ Corwin, "*Le institutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino, Part 1," 55–62.

mirrored the proportions of King Solomon's temple.¹⁶ Warren and Wright suggest a mystical connection between musical composition and architecture. I suggest instead that the shared proportion shows how composition and architecture used terms of music theory to endow objects with aesthetic meaning; put another way, both composition and architecture were practical applications of pure mathematical arts.¹⁷ In this sense, basic principles of music theory were crucial tools for any kind of design that emphasized proportion, whether it was manifested visually, sonically, or metaphysically. The proportions of varying page layouts carry with them distinct expressive meanings, different nonverbal signals about how the text should be read.

The partitioning of the text-block into columns was another such non-verbal signal about language and content-matter. Like margins, columns offered an additional sense of visual punctuation and clarity. During the Renaissance, most printed books about music used a single-column layout. Layouts with multiple columns were reserved for texts on technical subjects, especially law and theology; they also were common in liturgical reference works (missals, breviaries, etc.).¹⁸ Works on technical subjects benefitted from a columnar layout because they often contained long words or complicated syntax. The shorter line lengths of a column layout allowed printers to avoid placing several long words on a single line; more frequent line breaks compensated for syntactical complexity by helping readers proceed down the column more rapidly.¹⁹ One prominent example of a book about music with a two-column layout is Guillermo de Podio's *Ars musicorum* (1495). In this folio-sized book, the columnar layout compensates for

¹⁶ Warren, "Brunelleschi's Dome"; and Wright, "Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*."

¹⁷ Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music Reunited" elaborates this point.

¹⁸ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 187–89.

¹⁹ Mak, *How the Page Matters*, 25–26.

the highly technical nature of the text, which proceeds systematically through nearly every topic of importance to practicing musicians.²⁰ The layout invokes the look of liturgical music books, especially in the extended musical examples clustered at the end of the book. As a book that questioned the precepts of those writing before him, especially Gaffurius and Ramis, its layout invoked the authority of the church and a seriousness of purpose. This was in stark contrast to the works of Gaffurius and Ramis, clearly linked to their courtly and scholarly ambitions outside the church. Because the single-column layout was not as prevalent in books during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as it is today, its prevalence in Renaissance books about music is therefore significant. Single-column layouts were associated with books that employed a more casual style, simpler terminology, and looser syntax.²¹ Whether this is actually true of the language in books with a single-column layout is immaterial; I showed in chapter two that music theorists themselves conceded a tendency to write in a convoluted manner. Rather, the single-column layout appears to have been a printer's connotative statement to readers about the language and subject matter of such works.

The appearance of the text itself was shaped by the printer's selection of typeface. Typefaces were modeled on fifteenth-century styles of handwriting, which fell broadly into two categories, blackletter and roman, each with several variants.²² Blackletter scripts and typefaces were the most common across Europe during the Renaissance; its variants were associated with particular regions (e.g., fraktur and textura with Germany, bastarda with France, rotunda with Bologna, etc.). Roman scripts and typefaces emerged in the wake of Petrarch's reactions to

²⁰ For a survey of Podio's little-studied book, see Stevenson, *Spanish Music*, 73–82.

²¹ Hasenohr, "La prose," 265–87.

²² Useful accounts of early typefaces are given in Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 78–83; and Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 122–25.

blackletter script, but were confined to the local context of intellectual circles in Italy, especially Florence and Venice; Petrarch alleged that his script was modeled on ancient Roman handwriting, originating the usage of the term “gothic” as a pejorative descriptor of blackletter scripts.²³ The points of contrast between these two families of typefaces are visually apparent—blackletter emphasized the separation of penstrokes, roman the continuity; blackletter emphasized a heavy contrast between thick and thin penstrokes, roman a relative uniformity of thickness.

Each family of typeface carried an expressive meaning tied to its perceived origins; blackletter stood for authority and tradition, whereas roman stood for insight and the recovery of older knowledge. Within individual works, changes in typeface (whether between families of type or variants within a single family) also carried expressive meaning, indicating changes in structure or authorial voice (e.g., identifying quotations or dialogue). Naturally, many scripts and typefaces borrowed from different families and not every instance of a typeface’s usage necessarily invokes its origins or connotative meaning. One instance, however, of a strong correlation between a typeface, its origins, and expressive meaning is italic type. First employed by Florentine and Venetian scribes during the fifteenth century, italic script combined elements of roman script with the Italianate varieties of blackletter, especially rotunda.²⁴ The first italic typeface was introduced by Aldus Manutius at Venice around 1500 after acquiring a ten-year privilege to protect his exclusive right to use it.²⁵ Its association both with Florentine humanists and with the Aldine firm led to italic script becoming known as humanistic script. Through the

²³ Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca*.

²⁴ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 10–12.

²⁵ Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, 59–77.

beginning of the seventeenth century, the use of italic typefaces in printed books connoted social status and learnedness.²⁶

These elements of page layout and type design—considered together with the textual and paratextual devices considered in chapter two (title pages and colophons, visual decoration, indices, textual segmentation, and marginal annotations)—established a book’s *mise-en-page*, its characteristic disposition of content on the page. This constituted the main point of connection between the author and the reader. In the section that follow, I posit three basic archetypal page designs common among Renaissance books about music, showing how their layout mediates the communication of meaning with regard to language, genre, audience, and regional context. I do not intend these archetypes to be the only available options; they were put into practice flexibly, often borrowing elements of different designs, and some instances defy categorization. Rather, I propose that these archetypes represent typographical conventions common in Renaissance books about music, which could be altered or avoided as suited a printer’s and author’s needs.

The scholastic page

This design is particular to books about music that approach the subject of music primarily from a philosophical perspective. Notable examples include Nicolò Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1487); Guillermo de Podio, *Ars musicorum* (1495); Franchinus Gaffurius, *Theorica musice* (1492); the folio editions of Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496); and Giorgio Valla’s translation of Cleonides, *Harmonicum introductorium* (1497). Many exemplars of this design archetype, such as the books by Lefèvre d’Étaples and Valla, are miscellany volumes associated with university instruction. The Lefèvre d’Étaples volume, for

²⁶ Balsamo and Tinto, *Origini del corsivo*, 25–41.

example, contains his edition of Jordanus de Nemore's thirteenth-century book on arithmetic, an original book about music, a commentary on Boethius's approach to arithmetic, and instructions on playing rithmomachia, a board game used to teach number theory.²⁷ The full title represents both the scope of its content and the printers' perplexity over what to call the book:

In hoc opere contenta. | Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata | Musica libris
demonstrata quattuor | Epitome ī libros arithmeticos diui Seuerini Boetij |
Rithmimachie ludus q & pugna nūeroꝝ appellat²⁸

Contained in this work are: *Arithmetica* explained in ten books, *Musica* explained in four books, *Epitome* of the books on arithmetic by St. Severinus Boethius, *Rythmomachia*, a game named for and played by numbers.

The intent of the edition, as stated in the colophon, is to provide complete instruction in the two chief quadrivial arts (arithmetic and music), "given by Jean Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl for the benefit of students."²⁹ The Burzio and Podio volumes, both standalone works, were likewise used for instruction respectively at the universities of Bologna and Salamanca.³⁰ Given their context in university education, most scholastic books are in Latin.

The design of the scholastic page presents a book's text as compactly and as efficiently as possible; figure 3.1 provides a representative example from the Lefèvre d'Étaples book. Folio-size pages with narrow margins minimize wasted space on the page. Illustrations, sometimes copious, are presented in the margins; this meant that illustrations were sometimes trimmed out

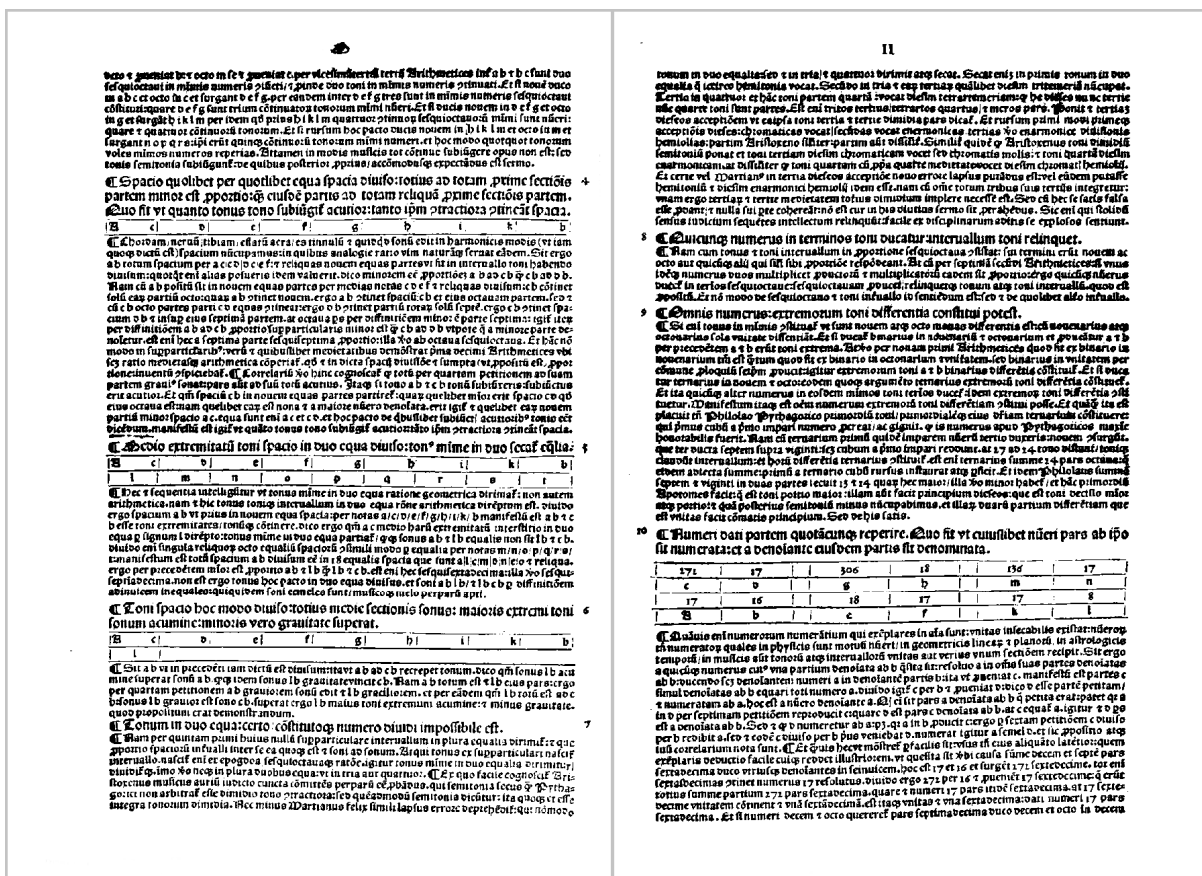
²⁷ Moyer, *The Philosopher's Game*, 2 notes that booksellers also often sold boards and pieces for the game.

²⁸ Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496), sig. a1r. Incidentally, this titling of miscellany volumes was a common formula ("Contained in this work are...").

²⁹ "Has duas Quadrivium partes et atrium liberalium precipuas atque duces cum quibusdam aminiculariis adiectis: curarunt una formulis emendatissime mandavi ad studiorum utilitatem Joannes Hugmanus, et Volgangus Hopilius." Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496), sig. i8v.

³⁰ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 270.

Figure 3.1. The scholastic page. Sample two-page layout in Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris: Jean Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl, 22 July 1496), sig. i6v–i7r.



of the book.³¹ Combined with frequent orthographic abbreviations, the uniformly narrow letterforms of the blackletter typeface (in this case a variety of bastarda) allowed a longer measure, typically between 80 and 100 characters per line including spaces; modern books tend to use between 45 and 75 characters per line.³² The text-block in the Lefèvre d'Étaples volume is also quite long, 62 lines. In this example, the printer employs two different sizes of the same

³¹ For example, many illustrations in the outer margins are trimmed out of the copy of the Lefèvre d'Étaples volume at F-Pn, shelfmark Rés. V 148.

³² Bringhurst, *Elements of Typographical Style*, 26–27. The maximum measure of the main text in this document is 120 characters; its readability (as distinguished from its mere legibility) is only possible because of the generous leading, double spacing in this instance; Gray and Leary, *What Makes a Book Readable*, 295–300.

typeface (one each for the headings and the remaining text), although the contrast between them is minimal to conserve space on the page. Margins are not increased to accommodate any paratextual aids; this example includes a short headline, section numbers, and signatures (not in the figure). The section numbers notably are placed in the inner margins, buried in the gutter of the book. Ornamentation is kept to a minimum; decorative initials are reserved only for the beginnings of major structural divisions (e.g., the beginning or ending of part of a book). The *capitulus* (the ancestor of the modern pilcrow, ¶) is used to indicate the beginnings of sentences and paragraphs, often unceremoniously in the middle of a line.³³ Additional leading or whitespace is given sparingly between paragraphs or sections.

By maximizing the use of space on the page, the printers of the Lefèvre d'Étaples book made it economical and profitable. Owing to the folio format, narrow margins, and minimal spacing, the book used as few sheets as possible. At this time, Lefèvre d'Étaples was a professor of philosophy at the University of Paris, which meant that his books were reliable sellers for printers catering to students. Between 1492 and 1503, Higman and Hopyl printed at least eight books by Lefèvre d'Étaples, all of which teach various branches of natural philosophy.³⁴ After around 1503, Henri Estienne emerged as the main printer at Paris catering to university students, reprinting many of the volumes first brought out by Higman and Hopyl. Such a design drove down costs, which helped increase earnings. It also kept the book thin, maximizing its convenience and portability for students.

³³ The origins of the pilcrow are treated in Houston, *Shady Characters*, 3–23.

³⁴ All written or edited by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and published at Paris: *Artificialis introductio in decem libros ethicorum Aristotelis* (1502); *In hoc opere continentur totius philosophiae naturalis paraphrases* (1502); *Epitome compendiosaue introductio in libros arithmeticos divi Severini Boetii* (1503); *In Aristotelis octo physicos libros paraphrases* (1492); *Introductio in metaphysicam libros Aristotelis* (1493); and *Introductiones in diversos libros Aristotelis* (1500).

Profit was not the only factor that drove the shaping of the scholastic page. The design of the page supported the nature of scholastic writing, which admitted a plurality of authorial voices. Many such books about music aim to bring classic works to new audiences or to present them with a new twist. The publications of Lefèvre d'Étaples, for example, rely heavily on Aristotle and Boethius, presenting the precepts of these classical and medieval authors within an updated fifteenth-century intellectual framework. The scholastic *mise-en-page* masks the shifts in authorial perspective, making it difficult to distinguish what is new and what is old. The net effect is to present the entire book as an accumulation of reflections and meditations on older thought.

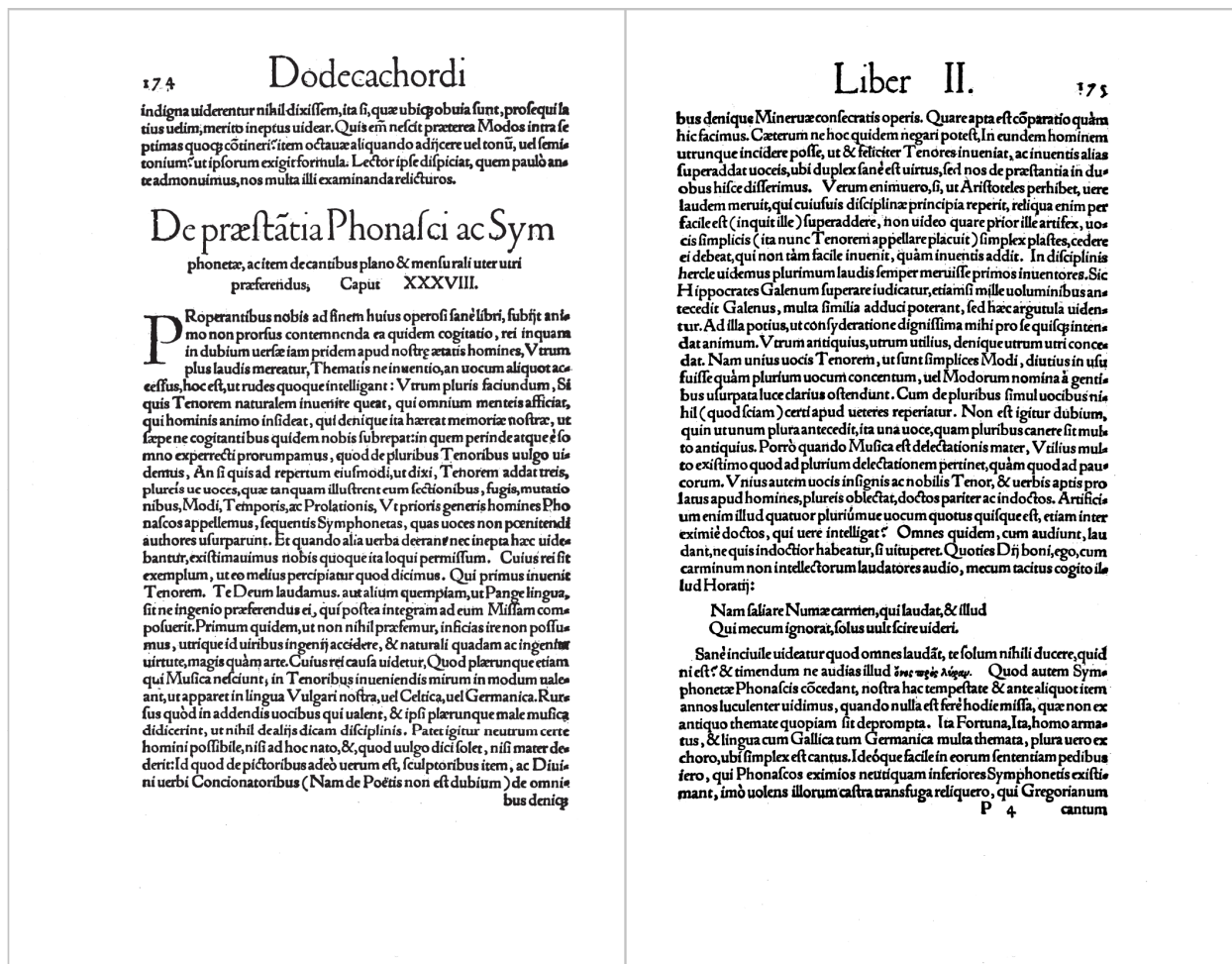
The humanistic page

This design is particular to books about music that consider the subject in a spirit of discovery or exploration, especially with a practical bent. As such, they generally present new ideas or theories within a monographic scope or vision. Such books tended to be written by authors without a university affiliation and were aimed not at students, but at a general literate public. Notable examples include Pietro Aaron, *Toscanello in musica* (1523); Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547); Othmar Luscinius, *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (1536);³⁵ Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555); and Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558).

Humanistic page design emerged out of the coalescence of individual variations to scholastic page design. The most characteristic feature of humanistic page design is the more generous usage of whitespace, which led a simpler, more minimalistic appearance (figure 3.2).

³⁵ This particular edition has a very unusual bibliographical format. It results from sheets folded three times (i.e., once into thirds and once into halves) to form six leaves in oblong orientation. This format also is found in table 4.1.

Figure 3.2. The humanistic page. Sample two-page layout in Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547), 174–75.



This is manifested in a variety of ways. Most importantly, page margins, especially the bottom and outer margins, are more ample. This in turn creates a smaller text-block. Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, for example, has a text-block with a maximum measure of 70 characters and maximum height of 39 lines. Further significative aspects of the design are a taller and wider typeface of a roman variety and larger paper (resulting in a leaf with maximum leaf dimensions 210 × 319 millimeters; cf. 204 × 289 millimeters for the Lefèvre d'Étaples volume).³⁶ A more

³⁶ These dimensions are composite, taking the largest individual measurements from different copies of these books. Few surviving copies retain the original sizes of their pages because new owners frequently had their books trimmed and rebound.

direct comparison with the Lefèvre d'Étaples volume analyzed above comes from Zarlino's *Istitutioni* (1558), which uses an italic typeface with similar height and width as the blackletter in the Lefèvre d'Étaples. The text-block in Zarlino's book has a maximum measure of 93 characters and maximum height of 52 lines, still significantly smaller than most examples of scholastic page design. Zarlino's treatise also is printed on larger paper (resulting in a leaf with maximum dimensions 213 × 308 millimeters), which accommodates bigger margins without decreasing the amount of text on the page. An important factor in the increased use of whitespace was the wider availability of cheap paper during the course of the sixteenth century.

Additional whitespace also accompanies major textual divisions. In Glarean's book, chapter headings have additional leading, visually separating the end of one chapter and the start of the next. Heinrich Petri, the book's printer, also uses three sizes of type with a high level of contrast to reinforce divisions within the text. Drop caps are given at the beginnings of chapters in the largest typeface. Headlines and the first lines of chapter headings are given in a medium typeface. The remainder of the text (body text, remaining lines of chapter headings, folios, signatures, and catchwords) are given in a small typeface. (An even smaller typeface appears inside illustrations and tables.) Whitespace also marks internal divisions within the text. The figure shows that a quotation from Horace—as we shall see, to Glarean's great displeasure—is accompanied by additional leading above and below and indented at the left. This identifies the quotation as such and allows different authorial voices to be distinguished with ease. At the same time, this identifies these other voices as outside Glarean's narrative, seeming to downplay their importance. Names of other writers and historical figures discussed by Glarean, such as Erasmus and Jesus Christ, are given occasionally in small caps; this also highlights the visual contrast between different voices. Further stylization appears in the form of decorative initials, which

appear at the beginnings of each part of the book. The decorative initials and drop caps reinforce the hierarchy of in the structure of the book, respectively marking major divisions within the book and divisions with each part of the book.

The placement of illustrative material also is more integrated on the humanistic page than on the scholastic page. Scholastic book design tended to relegate illustrations to the margins or inset them with lines of text, whereas humanistic book design placed them primarily as blocks, temporarily pausing the flow of text. Illustrations narrower than the measure of the text-block are centered almost universally within the text-block; this introduced additional whitespace between the edges of an illustration and the start of the page margins. The whitespace has the effect of drawing the eye to the illustrations, promoting their importance. Regardless of authorial intent, marginal illustrations, merely because they are not integrated visually with the text, appear to be less important, as afterthoughts or as impure physical manifestations of ideal, intangible thought. (Not coincidentally, the outer margins are what one touches as one leafs through a book.)

Humanistic books about music tend to be more extensively illustrated, demonstrating an important shift in attitudes toward exemplarity suggested by Erasmus.³⁷ Cristle Collins Judd argues that this was particularly important in books about music, which depended on musical examples to illustrate abstract ideas in ways that other subjects did not.³⁸ The integration and centering of illustrations within the text-block provides a perfect visual analogy to their increasing prevalence and centrality within music discourse during the Renaissance.³⁹

³⁷ Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 122–57; and Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 186–214.

³⁸ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 3–16 and 126–28.

³⁹ On this phenomenon, see Balensuela, “*Ut hec te figura docet*”; and Whittaker, “Musical Exemplarity,” both of which trace this development to the late fifteenth century.

An important typographical feature of the humanistic page is its use of roman and italic typefaces. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin were among the first modern scholars to argue that the increasing prevalence of roman and italic typefaces represented the ascendancy of humanistic thought, and a number of scholars have offered useful refinements to this assertion.⁴⁰ These scholars have established that, during the Renaissance, roman scripts and typefaces were perceived to be modeled on ancient Roman paleography and associated strongly with humanistic circles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although, in the context of books about music, they were first introduced in otherwise scholastic page designs (e.g., Gaffurius, *Theorica musicae*, 1492), roman typefaces are a distinctive marker for humanistic page. The simplicity and individuality of roman letterforms lent them a readability that was lacking in blackletter. This, combined with the larger page sizes and wider margins, represented a significant break with scholastic models of book design, emphasizing newness of thought, especially as a reflection of ancient wisdom.⁴¹ Readers and potential buyers might have been able to see this in the pages of humanistic books before they could read about it.

The increasing use of vernacular languages marked an important shift in the development of writing about music during the Renaissance. The use of roman and italic typefaces visually accompanied this linguistic shift. The first widely-read book about music in the Italian vernacular was Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello*. The work was printed, reprinted, and revised at Venice during the sixteenth century (five editions, 1523–1562), consistently mimicking the house style of Aldus Manutius with a relatively large roman typeface, generous margins, and an uncluttered humanistic design. Beginning in the 1540s, Italian books about music, especially

⁴⁰ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 82–83. For refinements, see Dane, *Out of Sorts*, 57–71; and Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 201–207.

⁴¹ Mak, *How the Page Matters*, 23–29.

those issuing from Venice, and even those in Latin, consistently began to employ italic typefaces. An early example of this was Aaron's *Lucidario* (1545), an Italian-language edition in quarto. The use of italic typefaces in Italian books about music came to be so consistent that its occasional absence became noteworthy. Writing in 1789, Charles Burney noted the following of Tigrini's *Compendio della musica* (1588):

This *Compendium* is not only well digested by the author, but rendered more clear and pleasant in the perusal, by the printer, who has made use of large *Roman* types, instead of Italic, in which most of the books that were published in Italy, before the present century, were printed.⁴²

Italic and roman typefaces were an important component of the humanistic page, although they were not exclusive to it. The typography and design of the humanistic page functioned as a nonverbal cue for, and visually reinforced, humanistic kinds of writing about music.

The dialogic page

This design is particular to books that provide comprehensive instruction in a single area within the study of music. The dialogic page is common among textbooks, although it is not restricted to books used for classroom instruction. Although such works typically have a single author, they provide the service to readers of digesting a large volume of existing literature or previous thought. Notable examples include Giovanni Maria Artusi, *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (1586 and 1589, in folio); Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* (first ed. 1548, in octavo); Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (1533, in oblong quarto); Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597, in folio); and Oratio Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (1588, in upright quarto). The typographical design of

⁴² Burney, *General History*, 3:175. The amusing use of italics on the word "Roman" is Burney's or his printer's.

Figure 3.3. The dialogic page. Sample two-page layout in Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* (Augsburg: Michael Manger, 1580), sig. B2v–B3r. This figure is scaled down in size to facilitate comparison of its format (octavo) with the figures above (in folio) and figure below (in upright quarto).



the dialogic page made it useful in a variety of different literary contexts, and thus it appeared in books of every bibliographical format.

The design of the dialogic page is basically humanistic in orientation, but to a different effect (figure 3.3). Abundant whitespace and a smaller text-block reflects a continued emphasis on readability while clarifying the structure of the text at all levels, even individual phrases or sentences. The essential point of contrast with the humanistic page is the stylization of multiple authorial voices typical of these works.⁴³ Faber's *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus*, an immensely popular textbook written for the German Latin schools (53 known editions, 1548–1608), provides a case in point. Faber's treatise is written as a catechism, a dialogue in question-and-answer format imitating the rote method of learning in the classroom:

What are connected notes called? When two or more simple notes are connected by a stroke on the right or left sides, these commonly are called ligatures.

How many kinds of ligatures are there? Two: square and oblique.

⁴³ My discussion of dialogues and dialogic thought is indebted to Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue*; Judd, "Music in Dialogue"; and Rigolet, "Problematising Exemplarity."

What is a square ligature? [...]

Why are oblique ligature so named? [...]⁴⁴

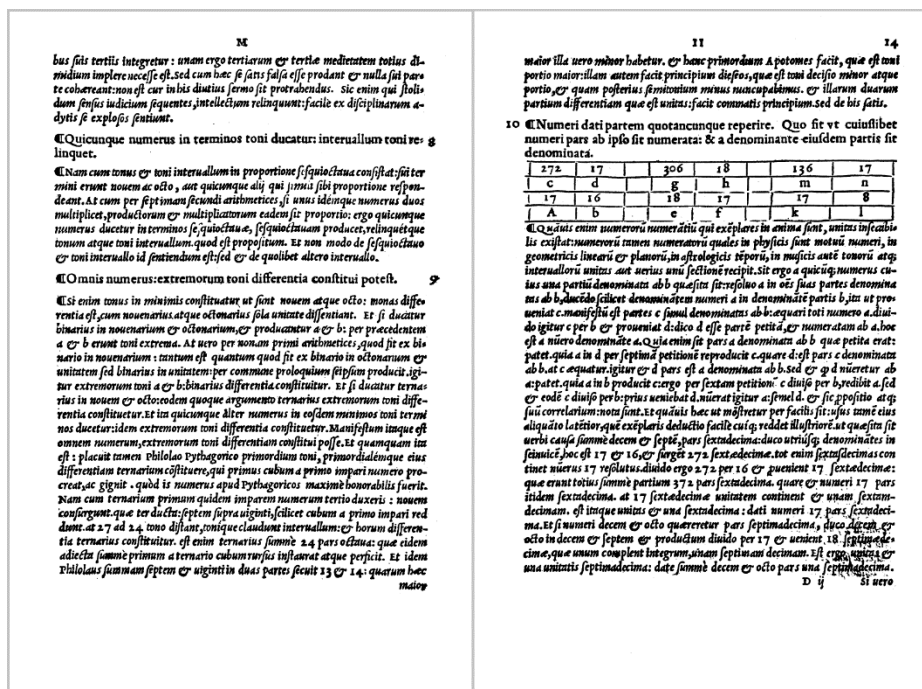
The two voices are distinguished typographically; the questions are set in roman type and the answers in italic type. Although there is no direct evidence to indicate this occurred, it would have been simple for teachers and students in a classroom to use Faber's book together, each reading their respective parts of the dialogue. The terse linguistic style was suited ideally for students still learning Latin grammar; indeed, the classification and definition of vocabulary terms is a significant objective of Faber's text. The book was translated in German by Christoph Rid (*Musica, ein kurtzer Inhalt*, first ed. 1572); Adam Gumpeltzhaimer later edited both Faber's and Rid's versions, printing them in a side-by-side Latin–German edition (*Compendium musicae pro illius artis tironibus*, first ed. 1591).⁴⁵ Gumpeltzhaimer's edition allowed German pupils to follow the Latin more easily, suggesting the book's value for language acquisition.

Books sometimes were reprinted with different page designs and layouts, which altered the framing of the texts for their readers. I analyzed above the first edition of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496) as an exemplar of scholastic book design. In 1551 and 1552, the Parisian printer Guillaume Cavellat brought out new editions of this work. Cavellat's letter to the reader—a feature lacking in earlier editions—describes his reasons for bringing the book to light:

⁴⁴ Faber, *Compendiolum* (1580), sig. B3v. “Quae dicuntur ligatae [notae]? | *Cùm duae vel plures simplices notae per virgulam in | dextra vel sinistra parte coniuguntur. Atq3 communi- | ter ligaturae vocantur. | Quotuplex est ligatura? | Duplex. | Recta & obliqua. | Quae est recta? | [...] | Quae dicitur obliqua?*”

⁴⁵ Scheideler, “The German Translation of Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum*.”

Figure 3.4. Another example of the dialogic page. Sample two-page layout in Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1551), fol. 13v–14r. This figure is scaled down in size to facilitate comparison with figure 3.1, the same passage on the scholastic page.



I sense that there is a great lack of Latin writing on music, especially that which is written knowledgeable and methodically. There are few copies of such works and they have not been corrected adequately. This can be seen as the cause of why music often is considered inferior.⁴⁶

Cavellat's editions employ a dialogic design, which re-envisioned the text as a commentary on the sparse ancient writing about music (figure 3.4). The editions, in upright quarto format, employ the more generous whitespace of the humanistic page to create a more readable text-block with a measure of 78 characters and a height of 37 lines on a leaf with maximum dimensions 140 × 192 millimeters. The beginnings of sections also are marked visually with

⁴⁶ "Intelligo Latinorum musicorum magnam penuriam, eorum praesertim qui artem calluerint, & methodo scripserint, exemplaria non adeo multa & ea non satis emendata, quae causa videri potest, cur musicae minus sit frequens." Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1552), fol. [1]v.

additional whitespace; the beginning of each major part is marked with a decorative initial capital. The illustrative material is simplified and placed within the text-block.

Cavellat's editions of the Lefèvre d'Étaples volume use both roman and italic typefaces. The contrast between the typefaces marks shifts in authorial voice: roman type is given for time-tested precepts and axioms, italic type given for the author's explanations and commentary. The effect is different from that of the humanistic page. The dialogic page marks different voices to privilege their perspectives, whereas the humanistic page marks them to minimize them. Cavellat's edition, like Higman's and Hopyl's, was probably intended for students at the University of Paris; after all, his shop was located at "the Sign of the Fat Chicken across from the Collège de Cambrai," a department within the University of Paris.⁴⁷ The difference in appearance has a dramatic effect on the way a reader might have interfaced with Lefèvre d'Étaples's text. Here the old precepts and new explanations receive equal priority, like in the catechistic volumes analyzed above. These two authorial voices are interdependent, each one needing the other as a reason for existence; neither the terse precepts nor the more verbose explanations could stand alone. The dialogic page makes this dual purpose visible typographically, in a way that was disguised on the scholastic page and minimized on the humanistic page.

Illustrations in the dialogic page function as material for further investigation and reflection. In Faber's *Compendiolum*, the musical examples function as sites of interaction between the different speakers in the dialogue.⁴⁸ Some examples in the book act as samples that

⁴⁷ "in pingui Gallina, ex adverso collegii Cameracensis." Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1552), fol. [1]r. The Collège de Cambrai formerly was called the Collège des Trois-Evêques (College of the Three Bishops, after its founders) and was later the site of the Collège Royale de France; *The History of Paris*, 2:291–95.

⁴⁸ The following discussion is indebted to Judd, "Music in Dialogue."

students present to the teacher; others are presented by the teacher for student discussion or performance. This conceit draws readers imaginatively into the book's discursive framework, inviting them to consider multiple perspectives on an illustration of a given subject. The dialogue prompts the reader to consider what other particular examples might be adduced as demonstrations of a given subject. This is different from the humanistic presentation of illustrations, which function more as proofs of concept, ideal and authoritative instantiations of a given theory. The monological character of the humanistic page narrates and argues, while the polyphonic character of the dialogic page invites participation and independent thought.

Examples of the dialogic page need not be dialogues in themselves while incorporating a dialogic character in their texts and designs. For example, Lanfranco's *Scintille* (not a dialogue), Tigrini's *Compendio* (not a dialogue), and Morley's *Introduction* (a dialogue) all include lists of authors whose works are recommended to readers.⁴⁹ Throughout these works, the names of these writers are mentioned and their works are discussed. Furthermore, Tigrini's and Morley's books make ample use of printed marginal annotations to highlight the contributions of other authors. Although these works do indeed make their own original contributions, their conception is unabashedly unoriginal. The scholastic page allowed authors to stand on the shoulders of previous writers, improving and building on them by degrees; the humanistic page allowed authors to emphasize their own original insights while citing relevant authorities. In contrast, the dialogic page allowed authors to incorporate previous writers as equals, experts whose ideas needed contextualization and curation, not improvement. The original contribution was to collate

⁴⁹ Lanfranco, *Scintille* (1533), sig. $\pi 3v$ ("i nomi di coloro, dietro alle cui pedate ne i nostri ragionamenti noi siano seguiti"); Tigrini, *Compendio* (1588), sig. $\pi 4r$ – $\pi 4v$ ("tanti Eccellenti scrittori"); and Morley, *Introduction* (1597), sig. $3\chi 4v$ ("Authors whose authorities be either cited or used in this booke").

and bring together the wisdom of various authorities. Tigrini articulates this purpose in his letter to readers, appended above the list of authors cited in his book:

Having resolved, my most humane readers, to collect together all those things that I have judged to be most useful and necessary to the art of counterpoint, which are found in so many widespread and scattered writers that they can hardly be understood, it seemed fitting to me to make a selection from all that has been said by the most noble and excellent authors, and to arrange them together with as great a brevity as possible such that those who desire to learn this art will trouble themselves less by going around searching for them now in this or now in that author.⁵⁰

The dialogic page makes this selection and curation visually apparent by allowing these voices to be distinguished. In chapter two, I observed that, during the course of the Renaissance, sections of text in books about music became shorter and the number of sections in a given book increased. This was most prominent in textbooks and other sorts of compendia and digests. The employment of shorter sections and more of them accompanied their dialogic typographical presentation, which allotted more whitespace at these structural interstices.

Section summary

Because this is a new formulation, it is worth restating briefly the features of each design archetype I have proposed, in order to highlight their direct points of contrast. The scholastic page presents content as compactly on the page as possible, avoids extraneous whitespace, and presents the text with minimal decoration. The effect of this manner of presentation is to blend authorial voices and to emphasize the continuity of intellectual traditions. Books with such a

⁵⁰ “Havendo io deliberato Lettori miei humanissimi, raccorre insieme tutte quelle cose, lequali ho giudicato essere piu utili, & necessarie all’Arte del Contapunto, che appresso molti scrittori tanto diffuse, & sparse si trovano, che maleagevolmente comprendere si possono, mi è parso à proposito, tra tutte quelle che da i piu nobili, & eccellenti Autori sono state dette, farne una scelta, & con quella brevità maggiore, che sia possibile ridurrele insieme, acciò che quelli, che desiderano imparare tal Arte, meno s’affatichino in andarle hora in questo, hora in quello Autore ricercando.” Tigrini, *Compendio* (1588), sig. π4r.

design often (but not exclusively) are in folio format; employ blackletter typefaces; are in Latin or a decorous vernacular style; combine multiple works destined for university students; and date from the 1470s through the 1520s, although the scholastic page continued throughout the sixteenth century, especially in Germany.

The humanistic page presents content expansively, employs ample whitespace, and visually highlights textual structures and hierarchies. Illustrations are integrated into the text-block, mirroring their deep embedding within the discursive framework. The effect of this manner of presentation is to highlight the author's contributions to the field of knowledge and to present these as departures from previous knowledge. Books with such a design often (but not exclusively) are in folio or quarto format; employ roman and especially italic typefaces; are in a casual vernacular or Latin style; prioritize the vision of a single author; and date from the 1520s through 1580s.

The dialogic page follows the humanistic page in its expansive presentation of content and clarity of structural divisions. Illustrations are integrated into the text-block, but function in myriad ways depending on their presentation in the text. The perspectives of multiple authors are reflected in different typefaces and set apart in lists, marginal annotations, and other paratextual devices, marking them as authorities on equal footing with the author. Books with such a design are in any bibliographical format; mix typefaces, especially to reflect changes in language or authorial voice; are in a casual or simplistic style; prioritize the views of several authors; and date from after the 1530s.

Attending to the design of Renaissance books about music allows one to make fine distinctions among books that might otherwise seem homogenous in subject, method, or literary style. Book design also permits one to understand why certain books assume the shapes that they

do. The process of adapting and translating works for the medium of print involved decisions about how to present the work to readers. Such decisions were neither cosmetic adornments nor defaults of a house style. A book's design makes an argument about its text—different designs make different arguments. The three design types that I have proposed in this section clearly are not the only available options. I hope, however, to have shown how a variety of factors influence the way a book appears and the relationship between its appearance and the meanings possible within the text itself. In the following section, I explore in depth another site of negotiation in Renaissance books about music, showing how the technological possibilities and limits of moveable musical type influenced the ways that authors and readers conceived of their music-theory books.

The struggle for score format

For many readers, the most intriguing aspect of Renaissance music was counterpoint. Still today, neophytes quickly understand that reining in polyphonic voices requires a good ear and careful study. Before the emergence of printing technology, instruction in counterpoint occurred orally between student and teacher and occasionally in manuscripts with a very limited circulation. The first printed books on counterpoint coincided with the first attempts to unify *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*; that is, printed counterpoint treatises, more than those on other musical topics, blended aspects of different strands of music-theoretical thought such as the rudiments of musical notation, harmonics and advanced mathematics, musical aesthetics, and so on.

Furthermore, the most significant Renaissance books about music discussed the rules of counterpoint, even when ostensibly about other subjects—Gaffurius's *Practica* (1496), Aaron's *Toscanello* (1523), Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547), and Zarlino's *Istitutioni* (1558), to name only the most prominent examples. This only further whetted public appetite for information

about the secret musical art of counterpoint, satisfied in the later sixteenth century by such counterpoint manuals as Tigrini's *Compendio della musica* (1588) and Artusi's *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (1586).

Musical examples played a key role in teaching the rules of counterpoint in books about music. Jessie Ann Owens has presented a survey of the kinds of notational formats (i.e., the various visual dispositions of multiple voices on the page) employed in counterpoint treatises.⁵¹ Of the rich variety of notational formats, score format was the most effective for teaching how to interweave musical lines. Score format, unlike others that present each voice in disjunct spaces, collates each part so that congruent moments in the parts are vertically aligned (at least roughly). Barring at a regular temporal interval allows the reader to track and compare the lines with ease. An arrangement of the parts, usually one but sometimes more per staff, from low to high allows harmonic intervals to be reckoned quickly. Edward E. Lowinsky has shown that scores emerged, both in print and manuscript, around 1530.⁵² A number of scholars working in Lowinsky's wake have explored the function of scores, showing their use in study and performance at the keyboard.⁵³ A recent study by Christine Jeanneret explores the technical production of printed scores after 1580.⁵⁴ In this section, I explore the obstacles that prevented their prevalence in books about music in spite of their seemingly obvious pedagogical and didactic utility. I focus on the period before 1580, showing how printers used a variety of techniques to print musical examples, and especially scores, while still protecting their bottom lines and working schedules.

⁵¹ Owens, *Composers at Work*, 34–63.

⁵² Lowinsky, "Early Scores in Manuscript"; and Lowinsky, "On the Use of Scores."

⁵³ Judd, "The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard"; Ladewig, "Frescobaldi's *Recercari, et canzoni francese* (1615)"; and Owens, *Composers at Work*.

⁵⁴ Jeanneret, "The Score as Representation."

Figure 3.5. Woodcut polyphonic musical example. In Nicolò Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1487), sig. E7v (“Demonstration of the foresaid way of composing mensural song”).



The printers of the earliest music-theory treatises employed a variety of technical strategies to produce musical notation (see chapter two). Before the maturation of single-impression music printing, woodcuts were preferred over multiple-impression type.⁵⁵ Perhaps the most widely cited example of this is the sole polyphonic example in Nicolò Burzio’s *Musices opusculum* (1487; reproduced in figure 3.5 and transcribed in figure 3.6).⁵⁶ This particular

⁵⁵ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 65 provides a list of editions containing woodcut musical notation. Incidentally, I am unaware of any instances of musical examples in books about music made from multiple-impression musical type.

⁵⁶ The transcription in Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1983), 86 uses halved note-values and omits the indication of several ligatures and Burzio’s distinctive accidental inflections.

Figure 3.6. Transcription of figure 3.5.

The image displays a musical score transcription for three vocal parts: Cantus, Tenor, and Contra[tenor]. The score is organized into four systems, each containing three staves. The first system includes labels for each part on the left. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various note values (half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes), rests, and slurs. Measure numbers 6, 12, and 18 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The score concludes with a double bar line at the end of the fourth system.

example often is adduced as one of the drawbacks of the method; given that few engravers had knowledge of musical notation, the result often was less than elegant.⁵⁷ Although the execution of Burzio's example is undeniably clumsy, I wish to draw attention to the example's efficient manner of composition and presentation. The most salient aspect is the presence of homorhythm among all three voices, and its near total presence in the cantus and tenor voices. The rhythmic sameness facilitates study by allowing the harmonic intervals between each voice to be followed with ease (although this is not highlighted in the woodcut). Additionally, except for cadential moments, Burzio employs a limited harmonic vocabulary confined to the unison, third, and sixth (and their compounds at the octave) between the upper two voices. The stated purpose of the musical example is to demonstrate a simple technique for creating counterpoint against a tenor voice; the musical example is composed to simplify the novice's task of comparing the harmonic content of the voices.

Burzio's example makes several further concessions to the reader. The *signum congruentiae* (m. 12) locates the midpoint of the example in case the reader encountered difficulty tracking the separately-notated voices. Burzio also notates pitch inflection with redundancy, adding both *diesis* and *mollis* signs. These inflections are implicit in the notation itself; Burzio adds the signs to make his intentions absolutely clear and to illustrate several singing conventions. The first *diesis* sign (m. 8) signals a cadence on C. The *mollis* sign (m. 17) demonstrates the rule "una nota supra la semper est canendum fa" (i.e., the F is to be solmized as *fa*, preceded and followed by E as *la*); the final *diesis* sign (m. 22) warns against a potential

⁵⁷ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 19; Kinkeldey, "Music and Music Printing in Incunabula," 101; and Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 64–68.

Figure 3.7. Woodcut demonstration of two-voice counterpoint. In Pietro Aaron, *Toscanello de la musica* (1523), sig. I3r.



misapplication of this rule (i.e., the B is to be solmized as *mi*, not *fa*).⁵⁸ These moments of notational redundancy acted as hints to the reader and might demonstrate an early awareness of the need to make an example's content and didactic purpose clear for readers.

Sixteenth-century authors and printers preserved this tradition of presenting musical examples carefully. Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* (1523) contains eighty-two woodcut musical examples presented in various ways. Six examples are allotted an entire page each. Over half (44 examples) are set off as blocks that appear after the conclusion of a sentence. The remainder (32 examples) are run-in with the text, with the notation interrupting midsentence. The physical production of Aaron's *Toscanello* required careful coordination between its author, its printers Bernardino and Matteo de Vitali, and the unknown engraver who produced the large quantity of woodcuts. The quality and consistency of their craftsmanship is remarkable—there are very few errors and their design accomplishes their didactic purpose.⁵⁹ For example, Aaron's demonstration of imperfect consonances (figure 3.7) improves on Burzio's example thirty-six years prior. Here the notes are given in equal values and their intervallic composition is labeled

⁵⁸ Mead, "Renaissance Theory," 356–58.

⁵⁹ The quality of these woodcuts, combined with their close resemblance to his other work, might suggest that Andrea Antico, whose activities between 1521 and 1533 are unknown otherwise, was the engraver.

explicitly (“thirds and sixths with the tenor” and “thirds and sixths with the soprano”). Furthermore, each voice appears on a single staff exactly one line long and the voices are vertically aligned. The woodcutter, either mimicking the author’s copy or following the instructions of the author or printer, executes the example to demonstrate its purpose in a clear manner.

This example required the vertical alignment of each voice and the placement of a textual legend below each staff; accomplishing both presented a technical challenge for the printer. There were two possible solutions, although the printer’s and woodcutter’s exact choice is unknown. The first solution was to create two blocks with one staff each, which made the placement of text between them simple. But this made the vertical alignment of the voices difficult to achieve because the two blocks had to be engraved independently. The second solution was to create a single block with both staves and then to saw it in half to make room for the text.⁶⁰ In either case, the printer and engraver took extra steps to execute the example correctly, which required an additional outlay of time and money. The end result has a visual simplicity that masks the significant effort expended on its creation. The vertical alignment of the voices allowed the reader to verify Aaron’s comments about its composition. The two later editions published during Aaron’s lifetime (1529 and 1539) used the same woodcuts, indicating that they were in Aaron’s possession—he was, after all, the holder of the work’s privilege, not the printer. The proud advertisement “CON PRIVILEGIO” at the bottom of the title page confirms this point about Aaron’s perception of the work’s value; in the first edition (1523),

⁶⁰ A further possibility was that engraver modified the block into a compartment—that is, a single block with gouged holes into which type was inserted. This seems unlikely, as woodcut compartments were reserved for elements applicable to many editions, such as borders or ornaments; Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 500. This solution also can be ruled out definitively, because the reprints of 1529 and 1539 (made with the same woodcuts) contain slightly less vertical space between the staves, indicating that they were two independent blocks. It remains uncertain whether these were engraved initially as one or two blocks.

these words are set off in black ink, in contrast to the red ink of the rest of the title.⁶¹ In this case, the author and several craftsmen worked in close collaboration to achieve a result that was designed optimally for the reader.

Single-impression musical type greatly simplified the incorporation of musical examples into books about music and enlarged the range of examples that were possible. Not only was the necessity of hiring a woodcutter eliminated, but also the owner or lessee of a font of musical type could typeset as many musical examples as the font permitted at no cost other than time. Run-in examples—which account for about a third of Aaron’s examples and which likely required a great deal of fiddling by the woodcutter and printer—became simple to execute; individual sorts (i.e., pieces of type containing a single letter or glyph) of musical type could be combined with sorts of alphabetical type. The only complication was the different heights of the sorts; musical type tended to be taller than alphabetical type. Zarlino’s *Istitutioni* (1558), like Aaron’s *Toscanello*, presents musical examples using a number of notational formats and manners of presentation. Run-in examples are plentiful (figure 3.8), allowing Zarlino to discuss with exacting specificity very small pieces of musical information. Zarlino also presents polyphonic examples in separate parts, each given its separate own space on the page (figure 3.9). Such examples follow Burzio’s and Aaron’s technique of homorhythm. In this instance, the addition of bar lines, like the *signum* in Burzio’s example, helps the reader track the voices through musical time.

⁶¹ For Aaron’s privilege, granted by the Venetian Senate on 3 July 1523, see Agee, “The Privilege,” 47–48; Bergquist, “The Theoretical Writings,” 496–97; and Fulin, “Documenti,” 198.

Figure 3.8. Run-in musical examples using single-impression moveable musical type. In Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), 208.




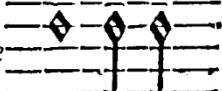
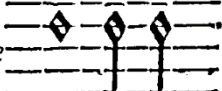
tali cifre v v ; onde li Musici fogliono segnare i loro tempi , che sono due tempi breui con due figure equali , come sono queste  , ouero altre simili : conciosia che'l Poeta considera solamente la Sillaba se è Lunga , la qual segna con  questa cifra — ; ouero si è Breue , la quale nota con questa'altra v ; & il Musico considera il Tem po lungo , o breue , & lo segna con una delle otto figure cantabili , come meglio li tor- na comodo . Potranno anco accomodare lo Spondeo , che segnano con queste due — — , che dinotano due sillabe lunghe , ouero con queste  , che significano due tempi lunghi , de i quali è composto . Potrau- no similmete accomodare il Dat ilo , il quale contiene una sillaba lunga , & due breui , in cotal modo - v v ; ouero contiene un tem po lungo , & due breui , in questa maniera  . Similmente potranno accomodare lo Anapesto in questo modo v v — , oueramente 

Figure 3.9. Inset polyphonic musical example. In Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), 251. Each part is given a separate space.



CANTO. ALTO. TENORE.

BASSO.

Però il Contrapuntista si guarderà di usarle; & deb-
be schiuare al tutto, di fare che alcuna parte della can-
tilena non faccia la Cadenza, quādo l'altre parti fusse-
ro ordinate in un modo, che qualunque altra dello più
grauifacesse la Quinta con la figura mezzana della cadenza posta nell'acuto , facendo il mouimento congiun-

Zarlino's *Istitutioni* also makes use of printed scores from single-impression musical type. The first scores in books about music appeared in Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529) and Auctor Lampadius's *Compendium musices* (1537); both examples are produced through woodcuts.⁶² The majority of Zarlino's scores are short duos in a simple

⁶² Lowinsky, "Early Scores in Manuscript," 126; and Owens, *Composers at Work*, 42–43 (including a reproduction of the Agricola example).

Figure 3.10. Score and tablature made from single-impression moveable musical type. In Juan Bermudo, *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555), fol. 83r.

The image shows a page from a 16th-century music manuscript. It features five staves of music. The first four staves are for instruments, each beginning with a C-clef and a common time signature. The fifth staff is for voices, with parts for cantus, altus, tenor, and bassus. The tablature is written below the voice staves using numbers 1-9. The lyrics 'Aun que me vey' are at the bottom.

contrapuntal style; many printed scores before 1580 share these characteristics.⁶³ One reason for their brevity and simplicity might be that vertically aligning the parts required extra sorts of blank staff lines—because different polyphonic voices tend to move at different rates, printers had to insert filler sorts to occupy moments when a note is sustained. The result could be jagged in appearance. See, for example, the score in Juan Bermudo’s *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (1555; figure 3.10). The printer of this example, Juan de Leon, is obligated to fill twelve bars of blank staff for the rests in the cantus, altus, and bassus voices, not to mention the additional sorts needed to align the parts vertically.

⁶³ Owens, *Composers at Work*, 35–38 designates these as “quasi-scores,” by which she means superimposed staves without barring or vertical alignment. Zarlino’s scores, in spite of their contrapuntal simplicity, are scores-proper, superimposed by range, vertically aligned, and barred at regular intervals.

Scores made from single-impression musical type presented a fundamental paradox for authors, printers, and readers of counterpoint treatises. By its very nature, moveable type was most useful and economical for printing one polyphonic part at a time, each in its own separate space on the page. Notational formats involving separate parts wasted the least amount of sorts (i.e., nearly every sort conveyed musical information other than staff lines) and conformed to musicians' expectations about the appearance of mensural notation. Yet, as I will show in chapter four, such formats placed severe restraints on readers' abilities to make sense of how the parts fit together, never mind how principles of counterpoint were deployed in a given example. Scores, it would seem, helped readers understand the contrapuntal construction of musical examples, but involved waste on the printer's part. In addition to the extra labor and typographical material involved, scores required significantly more real estate on the page than other notational formats, due to the horizontal stretching required of each part to align them vertically. This also required the compositor to set multiple lines at once and then to justify their horizontal spacing, which presumably took a significant amount of tweaking to perfect. The result also tended to be visually unappealing and defied conventions of mensural notation. Single-impression musical type thus presented new challenges to authors, to printers, and to readers of musical examples in Renaissance counterpoint treatises. Although scores were suited ideally to counterpoint treatises, I suggest here that their cost in terms of time, labor, and material deterred authors and printers from using them. Only in the 1580s, when counterpoint treatises came into greater demand, did printers deem scores a commercially-viable option in them.

An important and previously unrecognized feature of this phase between the introduction of single-impression musical type around 1530 and the wider acceptance of scores by printers around 1580 is a general spirit of experimentation. The obstacle to printing scores appears to

Figure 3.11. Woodcut illustration of rules for counterpoint. In Vicente Lusitano, *Introduttione facilissima et novissima* (1553), sig. C2v.



have been the nature of moveable type, not lack of willpower. Musicians and printers were keen to find workarounds to this obstacle. Some of the more successful solutions involved a return to woodcuts, by then an outmoded method for printing music. Although woodcuts were common in many kinds of books as decorative elements, woodcut musical notation was rare after around 1530, especially in Italy. After the introduction of moveable musical type, the appearance of woodcut musical notation generally is confined to musical examples that push beyond the limits of what was feasible with moveable type.⁶⁴

Consider, for example, Lusitano's rehashing of Gaffurius's rules for counterpoint in the *Introduttione facilissima et novissima* (1553; figure 3.11). In the middle of the page, Lusitano illustrates on a single staff several exceptions to the rules: consecutive perfect intervals created by voice-crossing, consecutive fifths of unequal quality, and unlimited consecutive thirds and sixths. Placing two voices on one staff was the most compact solution—using two staves, whether in score format or some version of separate parts, would have wasted valuable page real

⁶⁴ Woodcut musical examples also continued to be used by printers who did not have access to musical type; Vincenzo Luchrino, discussed below, furnishes one example.

Figure 3.12. Illustration of rules for counterpoint using nested single-impression moveable musical type. In Vicente Lusitano, *Introduttione facilissima et novissima* (1558), fol. 13r.



estate.⁶⁵ Woodcuts were the only technique for creating such an example, short of using nested type (i.e., a font of type consisting of individual sorts with fewer than five staff lines, which could be stacked to create the full staff).⁶⁶ In this example, one notices that the vertical alignment of notes is inexact; it is not clear whether this was purposeful or a misreading of the text. The filler staves inserted after the woodcut in single-impression moveable musical type, only after the first line, is also puzzling. In the second edition (1558; figure 3.12), the example is produced using nested moveable type, although again the vertical alignment is inexact. The third edition (1561; figure 3.13) furnishes one of the earliest examples of copperplate engravings of musical

⁶⁵ Lusitano's model for these examples may have been Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1552), sig. K4v, which contains a woodcut musical example with two voices on a single staff in equal note values.

⁶⁶ Jeanneret, "The Score as Representation," 179. For nested type, see Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 520.

Figure 3.13. Illustration of rules for counterpoint using single-impression moveable musical type and copperplate engravings. In Vicente Lusitano, *Introduitione facilissima et novissima* (1561), fol. 12v–13r.



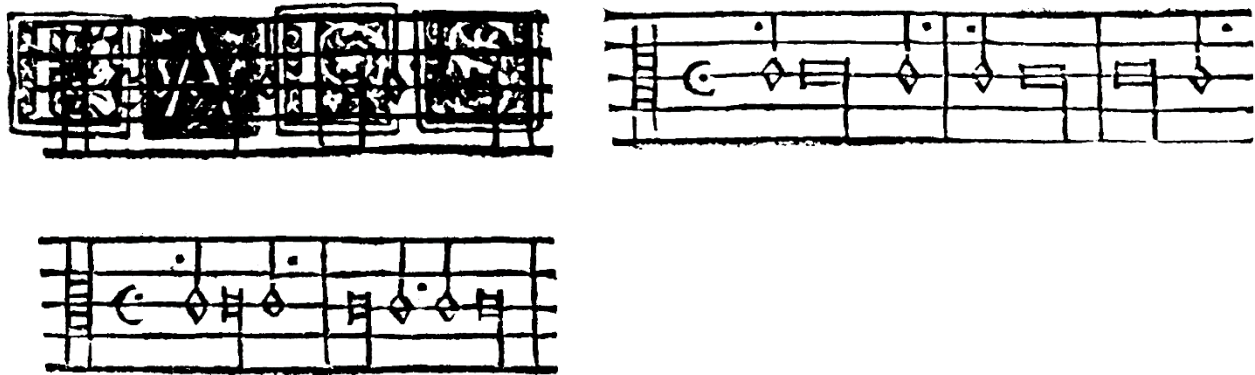
notation.⁶⁷ The reversion to moveable type for the example of consecutive thirds—a clear misunderstanding of Lusitano’s intent—demonstrates the kinds of mistakes made by artisans not familiar with musical notation. After all, this was Francesco Rampazetto’s first book.⁶⁸

No matter the method of their production—typeset, woodcut, or engraved—combining musical examples with text presented opportunities for mistakes to printers, even seasoned ones. One example occurs in Giovanni Maria Lanfranco’s *Scintille di musica* (1533). The chapter on the imperfection of the *maxima* (pp. 59–61) contains seven different musical examples. For the last example of this chapter, the printer accidentally included the woodcut for the last example of the next chapter, on the imperfection of the *longa*, there with the correct woodcut (figure 3.14).

⁶⁷ Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 40–54 note that the earliest known example is the *Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francesco da Milano*, probably printed sometime before 1536. The Lusitano example stands as perhaps the next example after this, and is the first example that is securely datable.

⁶⁸ Nielsen, “Francesco Rampazetto,” 49–51.

Figure 3.14. Error corrected by overprinting. In Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (1533), 61 (top); the overprinted woodcut appears correctly on p. 63 (bottom).



Later realizing his mistake, the printer printed over the first example using woodcut decorative initials (otherwise absent in the edition), leaving only the second, correct woodcut intact. The book contains over one hundred woodcut musical examples, both plainchant and mensural, all monophonic; this marks it as a particularly lavish production for its printer at Brescia, Lodovico Britannico. I suggest that storing and keeping track of all the woodcuts in the workshop was an logistical challenge, especially because the Britannico firm did not specialize in music printing or book illustration at this time.⁶⁹ The visual similarity of the two examples made the confusion even more likely; the only substantive difference is the horizontal length of the notehead on the *maxima* and *longa*, an easy feature to confuse.

Renaissance authors of all kinds complained about the inaccuracy of their editions.⁷⁰ Heinrich Glarean furnishes a particularly vivid example of this practice. Glarean sent more than a dozen presentation copies of his *Dodecachordon* (1547) to various individuals, hoping in

⁶⁹ The only other musical publications from the Britannico firm are the following, all published at Brescia: Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1497 and 1508); Bonaventura of Brescia, *Breviloquem musicale* (1497); Bonaventura of Brescia, *Regula musicae planae* (1497 and 1500); and Plutarch, *Prooemium in musicam* (1507). For a survey of the Britannico firm's early years, see Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 173–75.

⁷⁰ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 77–80 provides a general survey of this topic.

exchange for patronage, protection, or gifts.⁷¹ Included in these copies are lists of errata and marginal corrections, which vary among the known presentation copies. Some of Glarean's autograph corrections make specific complaints about the printer. The copy at US-Wcm (prepared from a now-lost presentation copy to Publius Francisco Spinola) includes several comments about the printing of the treatise:⁷²

These notes should be combined in pairs, which the printer has totally botched.⁷³

This diagram is not made from the original copy, in which two minor semitones are smaller than a tone, and which wisely may be perused in my house at Freiburg im Breisgau.⁷⁴

There was no need for so much spacing when this discourse continues on.⁷⁵

The tone of Glarean's marginal corrections varies with respect to his apparent frustration with the error. The final annotation quoted above also appears in a copy at US-R, which Glarean sent

⁷¹ The most detailed study of these presentation copies is Kölbl, "The Politics of Dedication."

⁷² The copy contains at the back of the volume four additional flyleaves, beginning with the following inscription: "Anno Jesu Christo natali MDLIII. | Clarissimo viro P. Francisco Spi= | nolæ Glareanus a Fri= | burgo Brisgoæ | D. M." The last page is signed "Glareanus propria manu Anno salutatis 1553. mense | Nouembri. Friburgi Brisgoæ cum lxx iam per Christi gratiam exis= | set annum..." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), back flyl. 1r and 4v (US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .G54 case). None of the inscriptions, however, are in Glarean's hand, although the content and style of the annotations match those of other presentation copies securely attributable to Glarean. This exemplar, then, appears to be a copy made during the late eighteenth century of a now-lost presentation copy for Spinola; there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the annotations even if they are not in Glarean's hand. Weiss, "Vandals, Students, or Scholars?" 243n briefly discusses this exemplar, labeled incorrectly as an autograph presentation copy. Kölbl, "The Politics of Dedication," 62 briefly describes this exemplar.

⁷³ "Binae notulae colligate | esse debeant. Quae | omnia Typographus | corripit." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 82 (US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .G54 case). This appears next to a schematic diagram of each authentic mode partitioned into respective diapente and diatessaron; the note indicates, for example, that the D–A and A–D for the Dorian mode should be ligated.

⁷⁴ "Hic Typus non est factus | ad Archetypon in quo mi= | nora semitonia errant du= | plo angustiora quam Toni. Vt in domo sapientiae Friburgi Bisgoæ cōspici= | tur." Ibid., 67.

⁷⁵ "Non erat opus tanto spatio | con sit continuatus sermo." Ibid., 175. This appears next to a quotation from Horace, *Epistles* II.I.101–102.

to the Roman doctor Bartholomeus Emanuel.⁷⁶ In this version of the note, Glarean plays up the the spacing of the quotation:

There was no need for such magnificent spacing when this oration continues on.⁷⁷

The same annotation also appears in a copy at D-Mbs, which Glarean inscribed to Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter, at the time the chancellor to the Bishop of Augsburg. In this version of the note, Glarean changes the final phrase in order to ridicule the printer directly:

There was no need for such magnificent spacing, yet here the printer shows himself to be of no intelligence.⁷⁸

These different instantiations of autograph corrections show how Glarean negotiated his personal identity in relation to the printed traces of his thought. By commenting on the physical object, Glarean distances himself from its inherent imperfections. Correcting printers' errors gave authors an opportunity to address readers directly, bypassing the mediation of the printed text. Even in typeset errata lists, authors seem to whisper to readers behind the backs of their printers.

Not coincidentally, many of Glarean's autograph corrections appear in musical examples, diagrams, and illustrations. Musical examples in score format were especially prone to printer error.⁷⁹ Books with many scores, such as Tigrini's *Compendio*, further highlight the complications that composers of early printed scores faced. Typesetting scores represented a

⁷⁶ Curiously, Glarean's autograph dedicatory letter is addressed only to an unspecified "Candide Lector." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a1v (US-R, shelfmark Vault ML171 .G547). We know the identity of its owner only through his inscription "BARTHOLOMEVS EManuel." Ibid., sig. a2r. This particular copy suggests that alongside the presentation copies customized for certain recipients, Glarean prepared several copies with boilerplate dedications for wider distribution. Kölbl, "The Politics of Dedication" does not mention this copy.

⁷⁷ "Non erat opus tā magni l fico ſpatio, cū ſit cōtinuata l oratio." Ibid., 175.

⁷⁸ "Non erat opus tam ma l gnifico ſpatio, ſed librarius ōndit ſi nīl de hic intelligeos." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 175 (D-Mbs, shelfmark 2° L.imp.c.n.mss. 73).

⁷⁹ Jeanneret, "The Score as Representation," 175–76 notes that composers of scores were significantly more error-prone than when setting single lines of music.

deviation from the familiar work routines of compositors. Typically, a compositor worked from right to left through a text, placing the appropriate sort for each letter or glyph. Upon reaching the end of a line, the compositor then justified the line, adjusting the spacing between notes as needed so that the line occupied the full body of page. The compositor then began the next line. In contrast, typesetting a score likely forced the compositor to alternate between horizontal and vertical dimensions as he juggled the different voices. The compositor likely set a single measure at a time, probably from the bottom to the top voice, then justified the measure for optimal vertical alignment between voices. The process of justifying multiple lines required more fiddling than with a single line of alphabetic text, as there was a back-and-forth between the staves. The complex process was jarring to craftsmen accustomed to the repetitive, horizontal process of typesetting alphabetical texts and music in separate parts.

In summary, a number of factors contributed to the brevity and simplicity of early printed scores in books about music. The additional material and labor required to produce scores limited the extent of their application in printed books. Contrapuntally-complex scores also were more likely to be botched in execution. But this had a pedagogical benefit, as well: practical constraints kept writers focused on the instructional task at hand, laying bare the precepts of counterpoint. Brief scores with simpler voices were ideal vehicles for teaching their intended lessons—assuming readers learned to balance reading the parts both horizontally and vertically. Complex examples like Tigrini’s furnished less adept readers not with exemplars worthy of contrapuntal analysis, but with models for imitation, stock gestures to be deployed “in many and almost infinite other ways.”⁸⁰ Another benefit to keeping scores short and simple was that it

⁸⁰ “in molti, & quasi infiniti altri modi.” Tigrini, *Compendio* (1588), 79 (wrongly 96, i.e., sig. K4r). Further on counterpoint treatises as repositories of musical ideas, see Schubert, “Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance.”

protected the interests of composers and music theorists, who might not want to lay bare every secret of the art of counterpoint. An important social function of music books was to promote the status of their authors as authorities on the subject. Withholding or obscuring more advanced topics likely helped them attract new, eager, and well-heeled students.⁸¹ It is worth remembering that books in general were relatively expensive commodities aimed at the upper echelons of the literate public.⁸² Prospective buyers of books about music were precisely those who might be willing to pay an expert to tutor them in the art of music. Keeping examples of full-length compositions, especially preexisting ones written by a figure other than the author of a given book (what scholars have termed, not unproblematically, “real music”), in separate parts ensured that they were fully accessible only to the best, most able readers.⁸³ This served printers, as well—such examples were quicker to produce and raised fewer complications, whether in the form of commissioning and organizing woodcuts or handling typographical errors.

Marketing music theory

In chapter one, I examined the geographical and chronological production of printed books about music during the Renaissance. A significant aspect of this analysis is that near every major

⁸¹ For the anxiety over print’s ability to reveal trade secrets, see Carter, “Printing the ‘New Music.’”

⁸² Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 65–90 and 249–69; and Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 107–121 and 155–57. A book’s purchase price was dependent on its number of sheets (related indirectly to its page length). For example, most partbooks use 3 to 6 sheets per partbook (i.e., 12 to 24 leaves or 24 to 48 pages in oblong quarto), ranging from 9 to 30 sheets for a full set of partbooks. The shortest books about music probably cost less than a full set of partbooks; for example, most editions of Faber’s *Compendiolum* used two or three sheets (16 or 24 leaves or 32 to 48 pages in octavo format). Longer music treatises probably cost much more than a full set of partbooks; e.g., Glarean’s *Dodecachordon* uses 124 sheets (i.e., 248 leaves or 496 pages in folio format). Prices of music publications and their audiences are discussed in Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 121–37; Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 331–81; Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, *passim*; and van Orden, *Materialities*, 39–112.

⁸³ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 28 and 105. In both cases, the word “real” is given ironically in quotation marks. Whittaker, “Musical Exemplarity,” 194–276 considers the opposite perspective of Tinctoris’s musical examples tailored to exemplify specific theoretical points.

music-printing firm working during the sixteenth century published at least one book about music.⁸⁴ Jane A. Bernstein has shown that the music printers in a given location partitioned the marketplace into separate niches and subspecialties.⁸⁵ Publishing books about music presented opportunities for advertising that transcended the simple hawking of wares on title pages.⁸⁶ Authors of such books thus appear to integrate themselves into their printers' businesses and to reinforce each other's mutual interests. In this section, I argue that books about music helped to define the natures of printers' niches and the profiles they presented to buyers. I begin by examining the segmentation of the market for books about music, showing how such publications helped to shape and to characterize their printers' disparate catalogs. I then turn to the subject of advertising in these books, showing how music theorists and their printers promoted each other's works.

Market segmentation at Rome and Venice

Many sixteenth-century music printers cultivated distinctive professional profiles. These printers maintained consistent editorial policies regarding the selection of works to be published that resulted in a cohesion within their catalogs—that is, a brand identity. This was not a simple matter, given that printers needed carefully to balance repertorial selection against a number of constantly-shifting priorities, such as netting profits, acquiring prestige, or targeting buyers. Clearly, not every publication helped establish its printer's brand. Rather, a given firm's brand

⁸⁴ The only significant exceptions of which I am aware are Ottaviano Petrucci and Andrea Antico. Nonetheless, Petrucci's lute intabulations begin with a short primer on performing from tablature, which first appeared in Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (RISM 1507⁵).

⁸⁵ Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 212–214.

⁸⁶ The subject of advertising in Gardano's and Scotto's madrigal books is treated at length in Bishop, "Authorship, Attribution, and Advertising."

identity emerges most clearly in considering how its publications differentiate themselves from those of its competitors. I showed above that typographical design provides a useful means of discerning how books about music were positioned within the wider book trade; Richard Agee has argued that privileges are another means of identifying those works in which a printer had invested the most energy and capital, and which therefore helped to define their brands.⁸⁷

Composers whose works, especially single-author publications, appear uniquely in one firm's catalog also helped shape both that firm's and that composer's public profiles. All of these methods help us identify a given firm's brand identity, niche, and subspecialty, which were the means by which a firm approached various segments of the market. In this section, I examine the manifestations of these methods in patterns of publishing music theory at midcentury Rome and late-sixteenth-century Venice.

Three printing firms owned a font of musical type at Rome during the 1550s: Antonio Blado, Valerio and Luigi Dorico, and Antonio Barrè.⁸⁸ Blado's firm dominated Roman printing at large as the papal printer, producing over 1,400 editions in total, of which nine are musical editions (i.e., books that contain musical notation). Dorico's firm printed books on a wide variety of subjects, especially vernacular poetry and comedies (34 musical editions of about 300 editions total). Barrè's was the only Roman firm that focused heavily on music (13 musical editions of 20 editions total).⁸⁹ A fourth firm, that of Vincenzo Luchrino, printed music from woodcuts for one

⁸⁷ Agee, "The Venetian Privilege," 13.

⁸⁸ For a survey of mid-century Roman music printing, see Franchi, "Stampatori ed editori musicali." Cusick, "Valerio Dorico," 35 provides the following figures for all three printers' outputs, which are confirmed by EDIT16 and the USTC. For biographical sketches of these printers see Menato et al., *Dizionario*, 72–74 (Barrè), 147–49 (Blado), and 388–391 (Dorico); and Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 166–67 (Barrè), 176–77 (Blado), and 218–19 (Dorico).

⁸⁹ Buja, "Antonio Barrè," 187–371.

Table 3.2. Music treatises published at Rome during the 1550s.

Author	Short title	Printer	Date	Notes
Dentice, Luigi	<i>Duo dialoghi della musica</i>	Vincenzo Luchrino	1553	1st ed. Naples, 1552
Lusitano, Vicente	<i>Introduttione facilissima et novissima</i>	Antonio Blado	25.ix.1553	Reprints Venice, 1558 and 1561
Ortiz, Diego	<i>Trattato de glosas</i>	Valerio and Luigi Dorico	10.xii.1553	Spanish trans. with same imprint
Vicentino, Nicola	<i>L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica</i>	Antonio Barrè	22.v.1555	New issue 1557

edition, which complemented his catalog of learned treatises on geography, medicine, and history (about 75 editions total).⁹⁰ These printers' catalogs each include exactly one book about music (table 3.2).

These books about music were aligned closely with the public profiles and activities of each printer. In chapter two, I explored the Lusitano–Vicentino debate at length, considering how the timely publication of Lusitano's *Introduttione* and Vicentino's *L'antica musica* served the interests of their authors. These publications likewise served the interests of their printers. Blado's position as the papal printer made him a logical choice to publish a work by Lusitano, the victor of a contest held in the apostolic chapel. Prior to this time, Blado had printed only two musical publications, Giovanni Animuccia's *Il secondo libro de i madrigali a cinque voci* (1551 = RISM A1242) and Hubert Naich's *Exercitium seraficum madrigali* (c. 1542 = RISM N7).⁹¹ Lusitano's *Introduttione* appeared in September 1553, a short two years and three months after the debate. Blado benefitted from publishing Lusitano's book because it drew attention to his

⁹⁰ Barbieri, *Tipografi romani*, 112 argues that Luchrino was strictly an *editore* (a publisher or underwriter) who did not operate his own press, but commissioned others to print on his behalf.

⁹¹ Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 177 attributes Costanzo Festa's *Madrigale...libro primo* for four voices (1538 = RISM FF642a) to Blado; Mary Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 2:152 attributes the edition more plausibly to Ottaviano Scotto.

burgeoning music catalog, which expanded steadily over the next decades to include seven further volumes.⁹²

Vicentino's *L'antica musica* responded directly to Lusitano's treatise. *L'antica musica* was among the first publications to issue from Barrè's press, established in 1555. Barrè began his firm ambitiously, issuing in its first year eight publications, five of which are publications of or about music.⁹³ Maureen Buja notes that this was an extraordinary undertaking, given the costs of commissioning typographical material, acquiring retail space (in the Campo del Fiore, the epicenter of the Roman book trade), and securing repertory to print.⁹⁴ His connections to the Roman musical scene likely helped in this regard—from 1552 to 1554 he sang in the Cappella Giulia. Barrè also witnessed the debate personally, signing in 1556 several documents affirming the veracity of Danckerts's and Vicentino's accounts of the debate.⁹⁵

Publishing *L'antica musica* was good business sense, because it was likely underwritten by the book's dedicatee and Vicentino's longtime patron, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. This is suggested by the phrase in the colophon "a instantia di Don Nicola Vicentino." The only other

⁹² These are, in chronological order, as follows (works after 1567 are by Blado's heirs): Guerrero, *Psalmorum quatuor vocum liber primus* (1559, no surviving copies); Zoilo, *Libro secondo de madrigali a quattro e a cinque voci* (1563 = RISM Z338); Martelli, *La nuova et armonica compositione a quattro voci* (1564 = RISM M757); Petrucci, *Pars prima introitum dominicarum et festivitatum totius anni* (1568 = RISM P1656); Animuccia, *Il secondo libro delle laudi* (1570 = RISM A1238); Zaccardi, *Psalmi vespertini quinque vocum modulati* (1577 = RISM Z1); and *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (1577 = RISM 1577^{3a}).

⁹³ In addition to Vicentino's *L'antica musica*, these are as follows: *Primo libro delle muse a quattro voci* (RISM 1555²⁷); *Primo libro delle muse a tre voci* (no surviving copies); *Secondo libro delle muse a tre voci*; *Primo libro delle muse a cinque voci* (RISM 1555²⁶); *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori in vita e in morte dell'illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna* ("ad instantia di M. Francesco Christiani," privilege dated 22 July 1555); Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (dedication dated 8 October 1555); and Gorgevic, *Opera nova che comprende quattro libretti* (colophon, "si vendono alla bottega del segno della Gatta in campo di Fiore").

⁹⁴ Buja, "Antonio Barrè," 75–86. *Ibid.*, 26–27 notes that the bookshop in the Campo del Fiore was probably shared among several printers.

⁹⁵ From November 1555 to May 1556, Danckerts requested four witnesses of the debate to verify the accuracy of his copies of Vicentino's transcripts of the proceedings; Barrè's verifications—dated 1 May 1556 and given in Danckerts's hand, not Barrè's—appear in Danckerts's treatise, I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 389r, 390r.

Barrè print to carry such an indication is the *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori* (1555), which also is dedicated to Ippolito II d'Este and which also carries a similar phrase in its colophon (“ad instantia di M. Francesco Christiani”). Christiani, the volume’s editor, was in the service of the Colonna, a patrician family at Rome; the book commemorates the life and death of Livia Colonna (1522–1554).⁹⁶ If indeed these were underwritten by members of the Este or Colonna families, then this provided the benefit to Barrè of producing these ennobling books at no cost to himself. Moreover, both *L’antica musica*, a large imposing volume in folio, and Christiani’s *Rime*, a collection of dignified poetry in quarto protected by a papal privilege, would have conferred an air of authority and distinction to Barrè’s image as a printer—even if he could not claim official responsibility as their publisher.

Diego Ortiz’s *Trattato de glosas* (1559) stands apart from the treatises of Lusitano and Vicentino. Its theoretical content is strictly practical, assuming prior knowledge of the basic rudiments of music and indulging in no speculative pursuits. Due to its oblong quarto format, the book stood apart physically from every other Roman music treatise of its time. (Vicentino’s *L’antica musica* was in folio; Dentice’s *Dialoghi* and Lusitano’s *Introduttione* were in upright quarto.) Readers strongly associated oblong quarto volumes with practical music and lack of authorial pretension.⁹⁷ In 1553, the Dorico firm was the most well-known music printer working at Rome; Suzanne Cusick calls Valerio Dorico the “*tipografo* to the musicians of Rome.”⁹⁸ By this point, the Dorico firm had printed thirteen musical editions concentrated in three bursts of productivity, the first 1526–1533 (using the multiple-impression method) and the second in 1544

⁹⁶ Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 37–41.

⁹⁷ van Orden, *Materialities*, 9–11.

⁹⁸ Cusick, “Valerio Dorico,” 149.

(two large folio editions of the masses of Cristóbal de Morales, marking Dorico's adoption of the single-impression method). The third burst of productivity began in 1551 with the printing of Lusitano's motets (see chapter two) and continued through the remainder of the firm's existence. Ortiz's *Trattato* coincides with this final period of sustained activity and its content implicitly promotes the other items in the Dorico catalog of music.

The *Trattato de glosas* is composed in two parts. The first treats of melodic ornamentation, providing readers with models of ornamenting melodies and cadences. The second part teaches how to adapt preexisting music for instrumental performance, using as examples Jacques Arcadelt's "O felice occhi miei," Pierre Sandrin's "Doulce memoire," and the anonymous melody "La spagna." Ortiz concentrates on madrigals and chansons, showing how to arrange them for the keyboard and *viola da braccio* by ornamenting single parts and by improvising additional ones. The emphasis is on the pragmatic—regarding improvising new parts, Ortiz states that these "are not obligatory for the player who is inexperienced or has little compositional ability."⁹⁹ He also promotes experiential learning, suggesting that "by practicing together, [musicians] will discover many excellent and admirable secrets that are inherent in this manner of playing by fantasy."¹⁰⁰ This also acts as a feint, ensuring that not every secret is given away in the book: "[Playing by fantasy] cannot be demonstrated; every good performer plays it from his head, from his studies, and from his experience."¹⁰¹ Before 1559, Dorico published exclusively vocal music—Ortiz's book thus made Dorico's existing catalog accessible to a new

⁹⁹ "non e obligato il sonatore che non habbia buona prattica, & habilitade di comporre." Ortiz, *Trattato* (1553), fol. 35r.

¹⁰⁰ "e con l'essercitatione commune si scopriranno li molti eccellenti e degni secreti che si contengono in questa maniera di sonare di Fantasia." Ibid., fol. 26r.

¹⁰¹ "La Fantasia non si puo mostrare, che ciascuno buon sonatore la suona di sua testa e di suo studio & uso." Ibid.

audience: instrumentalists. The *Trattato de glosas*, by promoting extensive rehearsal and study but stopping short of giving too many examples, might have suggested to its buyers a need to own more music, conveniently sold alongside the treatise in Dorico's shop. The commercial strategy is subtle, but its outlines are evident nonetheless.

The second edition of Luigi Dentice's *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1553) exploited contemporary enthusiasm for music theory at Rome. There is no evidence to suggest that Dentice had any involvement in the debate between Lusitano and Vicentino, although it is possible that he was in Rome in 1551.¹⁰² The first edition was published at Naples in 1552; Richard Wistreich suggests that Dentice's publication was designed to solidify his relationship *in absentia* with Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a courtier and singer at Naples.¹⁰³ Vincenzo Luchrino's Roman edition of the *Dialoghi* removes the book from its original Neapolitan context. Consider the two respective title pages:

1552: DEL SIGNOR | LVIGI DENTICE GENTIL' | *huomo Napoletano, duo Dialoghi | della Musica.* | [ornament] || CON PRIVILEGIO.

1553: DVO DIALOGHI | DELLA MVSICA | DEL SIGNOR LVIGI DENTICE | GENTIL' HUOMO | Napolitano. | [ornament] | *Delli quali l'uno tratta della Theorica, & l'altro della | Pratica: Raccolti da diuerfi Autori | Greci, & Latini.* | Nuouamente polti in luce. | [printer's device with motto] | IN ROMA | *Appreffo Vincenzo Lucrino* | 1553.

Luchrino's title page prioritizes the book's title over its author, while highlighting the its relevance to then-recent discussions about ancient Greek music. The 1553 edition lacks the letter of dedication in the 1552 edition, which placed the action of the dialogue in Naples. Luchrino's

¹⁰² Dentice's whereabouts between his departure from Naples in 1547 and his settlement in France in 1557 are uncertain; Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice," 81. Dentice left Naples in 1547 in the wake of aristocratic protest of the institution of the Spanish Inquisition; for this episode, see Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, 69–78.

¹⁰³ Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 32–33.

edition thus re-contextualizes the discourse between the interlocutors, named Soardo and Sermone, amid Roman discussions about ancient Greek music. Luchrino's edition of Dentice's *Dialoghi* differentiates itself from similar volumes in the marketplace around the same time by filling a gap in the literature on ancient music published at Rome; whereas Lusitano and Vicentino focus on Boethius and Guido, Dentice focuses on Platonic and Pythagorean musical thought. Luchrino followed up on the subject in 1556 with the publication of Nicola Scutelli's translation of Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, which contained a brief sketch of Pythagorean musical thought.

Given the concurrent circulation of similar texts about a contentious issue, one might assume that there was a spirit of fierce competition among their printers. This seems not to have been the case. Barrè, Blado, Dorico, and Luchrino were interconnected personally and professionally. Barrè used Blado's musical type for several editions during the 1560s and partnered with the Dorico firm to produce at least one edition;¹⁰⁴ Blado's son married Livia Dorico, the daughter of Luigi Dorico;¹⁰⁵ and Luchrino and Blado published the 1556 Iamblichus volume in collaboration.¹⁰⁶ Richard Agee argues that Venetian music printers cooperated in a friendly manner; I suggest likewise that printers of books about music at midcentury Rome partitioned the market into subspecialties so as not to compete directly.¹⁰⁷ Each treatise had close ties to its printer's catalog of music and each printer specialized in a different market niche

¹⁰⁴ Zannini, *Editori e librai a Roma*, 226; and Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 167.

¹⁰⁵ Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 177.

¹⁰⁶ The title page of the Iamblichus volume reads in part, "Romae, apud Antonium Bladum Pontificis Maximi excusorem. M. D. LVI. Sumptibus .D. Vincentij Luchrini." Some copies of the edition lack the ascription to Luchrino, suggesting that the Blado and Luchrino divided the stock to sell in their respective bookshops.

¹⁰⁷ Agee, "The Venetian Privilege," 15–23. See also Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 155–60; and Lewis, "Twins, Cousins, and Heirs," 216.

(liturgical or devotional sacred music; vocal or instrumental secular music; scholarly books; vernacular literature, etc.). These publications served the respective needs and interests of their printers, even when their authors antagonized one another.

This same pattern of market segmentation holds true in other locations. Tim Carter has argued for a similar kind of strategy among printers working amidst the controversy between Giovanni Maria Artusi and Claudio Monteverdi:

Indeed, it seems possible that the controversy was fuelled precisely by the presses themselves as a way of drawing attention to, and therefore enhancing the market for, their wares. Artusi is consistently published by the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti, and Monteverdi (like, for that matter, a good number of his *seconda pratica* colleagues) is closely allied with Vincenti's erstwhile partner and now rival, Ricciardo Amadino... Even if Vincenti and Amadino were not actively involved in the controversy, there is no reason why they should have discouraged it. The result was obviously good for business.¹⁰⁸

But just as Roman printers continued to work amicably while their authors bickered, so did Amadino and Vincenti, former partners who shared typographical material and divvied up composers and repertory in a seemingly mutually-beneficial manner.¹⁰⁹ The theoretical points of departure between Monteverdi and Artusi provide a means of discerning the respective subspecialties of Amadino and Vincenti during the 1590s and 1600s. Amadino printed first editions of works by Agostino Agazzari, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, and Claudio Monteverdi; Vincenti printed first editions of works by Giovanni Croce, Lodovico Viadana, and Giovanni Battista Biondi; both printed first editions of works by Giammateo Asola and Adriano Banchieri. Carter notes that Amadino's stable of composers tended to write in a more progressive style, embodying the characteristics of the *seconda pratica* as famously outlined in Giulio Cesare

¹⁰⁸ Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," 176–177.

¹⁰⁹ Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 138 and 460. Carter, review of Harrán, *Salamone Rossi*, 301–303 argues further for the association between composers of various localities with either Amadino or Vincenti.

Monteverdi's "Dichiaratione." The books of and about music printed by Amadino and Vincenti reinforce each other—the books of music clarify the arguments of the treatises and the treatises help contextualize and explain broader repertorial choices in presenting the books of music to the public.

The controversy between Artusi and Monteverdi initially unfolded in a circumspect manner; Artusi at first declined to identify the composer of the madrigals he quoted in *L'Artusi* (1600; fol. 39v–40r and *passim*) and Monteverdi published these madrigals shortly thereafter without acknowledging Artusi's attacks. But as the controversy escalated and as names were named, Monteverdi and Artusi both continued to serve and protect the publishing interests of Amadino and Vincenti. I would emphasize, for example, that several of the composers that Giulio Cesare Monteverdi cites approvingly as followers of Cipriano de Rore were fixtures in the firms of Amadino and Vincenti, to judge only from their single-composer prints.¹¹⁰ For example, of these composers, Tomaso Pecci belonged to Vincenti's stable of composers, Marcantonio Ingegneri to Amadino's; Luca Marenzio's works appear both in Vincenti's and Amadino's catalogs during and after their initial partnership (table 3.3).

Carter's observation that the controversy was good for business may be refined to say that Artusi's and Monteverdi's individual discussions of specific composers benefitted both presses simultaneously. That is, a reader of Monteverdi's "Dichiaratione" (Amadino) who was curious about Giulio Caccini, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, or Pecci had to seek out their single-

¹¹⁰ Giulio Cesare Monteverdi cites by name Carlo Gesualdo, Emilio de' Cavalieri, Alfonso Fontanelli, one "Conte di Camerata" (i.e., Girolamo Branciforte), Giovanni del Turco, Tomaso Pecci, then later Marcantonio Ingegneri, Luca Marenzio, Giaches de Wert, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Jacopo Peri, and Giulio Caccini. Among these, Bardi, Branciforte, Cavalieri, Fontanelli, Gesualdo, Peri, Turco, and Wert had no single-composer prints published by Amadino or Vincenti. Caccini had three Vincenti publications, Luzzaschi had one Vincenti publication. Most of the collections of these composers' works are concentrated in the catalogs of the Gardano firm and the Florentine firms of Marescotti and Pignoni.

Table 3.3. Selected single-composer prints of Amadino and Vincenti, showing the divvying and sharing of these composers' works. For simplicity, I give only RISM entries with years of publication. The table does not include Gardano's editions of Ingenieri's works (I41, I42, I43, I47, I48, I50, I51, I52, I53, I54, I55, I56, I57, I58), Gardano's editions of Pecci's works (P1105, P1106, P1107, P1116), Magni's editions of Pecci's works (P1108, P1117), or Phalèse's edition of Pecci's works (P1112). Marenzio's works were widely published; further editions of his works are too numerous to list here.

Composer	Amadino eds.	Joint eds.	Vincenti eds.
Marcantonio Ingegneri	I44 (1587)	–	–
	I45 (1588)		
	I46 (1588)		
	I49 (1606)		
	I59 (1606)		
Luca Marenzio	M511 (1587)	M549 (1584)	M589 (1586)
	M579 (1587)	M587 (1584)	M510 (1587)
	M499 (1616)	M588 (1585)	M541 (1587)
		M594 (1585)	M580 (1587)
		M532 (1586)	M600 (1587)
			M534 (1588)
			M577 (1588)
			M550 (1589)
			M590 (1589)
			M547 (1591)
			M601 (1592)
			M591 (1595)
			M606 (1596)
			M597 (1597)
			M602 (1597)
			M593 (1605)
Tomaso Pecci	–	–	P1102 (1599)
			P1101 (1603)
			P1103 (1603)
			P1109 (1603)
			P1113 (1603)
			P1104 (1604)
			P1110 (1604)
			P1114 (1604)
			P1115 (1604)
			P1111 (1607)

composer prints in Vincenti's catalog. Conversely, a reader of Artusi's *L'Artusi* (Vincenti) who was curious about Gastoldi or Monteverdi had to seek out their single-composer prints in Amadino's catalog.¹¹¹ For his part, Vincenti's theoretical publications cite Vincenti-aligned composers more meticulously (or at least minimally cite Amadino-aligned composers) than Amadino's theoretical publications. For example, several printed marginal notes in Artusi's *L'Artusi* (Vincenti) identify "musici eccellenti" or "musici valenti" ("talented musicians") discussed in the text (fol. 3r, 8v, 42r, and 67v–68r). Several of these musicians were published by Vincenti and not by Amadino: Croce (55 editions, 1588–1610), Ruggiero Giovanelli (10 editions, 1587–1600), Giovanni Bassano (6 editions, 1587–1602), and Palestrina (4 editions, 1588–1605). Of course, works by these composers were published by other printers, even at Venice; but the conspicuous and reciprocal absences in the catalogs of Amadino and Vincenti point to careful market segmentation between the former partners. This was not the only occasion that Amadino and Vincenti printed works for the opposing sides of a public argument; as Carter notes, Artusi's initial reason for publishing *L'Artusi* (1600, Vincenti) was to dispute points in Ercole Bottrigari's *Il Desiderio* (1594, Amadino).

I would add a further wrinkle to this picture: a previously-unnoticed connection between Ricciardo Amadino (Monteverdi's printer) and Francesco de' Franceschi (Zarlino's printer). I showed in chapter two that, beginning in 1561, Franceschi was the exclusive printer of Zarlino's books about music. These are Franceschi's only publications that contain musical notation; for his edition of Zarlino's complete works (four volumes, 1588–1589), Franceschi borrowed

¹¹¹ Nonetheless, works by Caccini (as "Giulio Romano"), Gastoldi, Ingenieri, Monteverdi, and Peri are listed for sale in the shop of Alessandro Vincenti in two printed catalogs, the latter of which includes pricing information; Vincenti, "Indice di tutte le opere di musica."

Ricciardo Amadino's font of single-impression musical type.¹¹² The editions of Amadino and Vincenti of 1588 and 1589 use the same musical type. That it was Amadino, not Vincenti, who loaned the font is confirmed by the presence of Amadino's device, an organ with two angels playing stringed instruments, in Zarlino's *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588; p. 286). Also in 1588, Amadino published Tigrini's *Compendio*, ostensibly an abridgement of parts three and four of Zarlino's *Istitutioni*, given a third edition by Franceschi the following year in 1589. Amadino's edition of Tigrini's *Compendio* was an ideal cross-promotional platform for Franceschi's edition of Zarlino's complete works, using a quarto-size, beginner-friendly treatise on counterpoint to advertise a folio-size, advanced-level book on the science and art of music. This coincided with a war of words between Zarlino and his former pupil Vincenzo Galilei. Galilei earlier had published his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (1581), which offered critiques of Zarlino's views about tuning systems based on ancient Greek music theory. Zarlino's *Sopplimenti* (1588) was his public rebuttal, to which Galilei responded with an extended, point-by-point response in his *Discorso intorno all'opere di Zarlino* (1589).¹¹³ The debates, arguments, and feuds between Artusi and Monteverdi, between Artusi and Bottrigari, and between Galilei and Zarlino were deeply enmeshed in the publishing activities of Amadino, Vincenti, and Franceschi. Partitioning the market into discrete segments and cultivating brand identities made this possible, allowing the firms to publish works on opposing sides while possibly colluding behind the scenes to market their works.

¹¹² The source of the musical type in the second edition of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* (1573) remains obscure. It does, however, very closely match Amadino's musical type in the third edition of the *Istitutioni* (1589), which might shed light on the early careers of Amadino and Vincenti, who are not recorded as printers before 1583.

¹¹³ Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 223–32. For Galilei's allegations of Zarlino's interference with his Venetian publishing interests, see *ibid.*, 265–270; cf., Galilei, *Discorso intorno all'opere di Zarlino* (1589), 12–16.

The case is similar with the firms of Angelo Gardano and the heirs of Girolamo Scotto. I suggest that the music treatises they published established a synergy among their broader music catalogs. In 1584, both firms brought out a single theoretical publication that remained the only such publication in their catalog through the end of the sixteenth century:¹¹⁴ Girolamo Dalla Casa's *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, et corda, et di voce humana* in two volumes (Gardano) and the second, revised edition of Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo...dialogo sopra l'arte del bene intavolare et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato, et in particolare nel liuto* (Scotto).¹¹⁵ The volumes share a number of similarities: lengthy folio volumes with elegant and grandly-worded title pages, a focus on extended musical examples with shorter prose interjections, and an emphasis on practical music-making. In terms of content, Dalla Casa focuses on melodic ornamentation (performed vocally or on wind or stringed instruments) and Galilei on adapting polyphonic music for performance on the lute. The musical examples in Dalla Casa's *Il vero modo di diminuir* draw from an older repertory, particularly the music of Jacob Clemens non Papa (1510–1555), Thomas Crecquillon (c. 1505–1557), Clément Janequin (1485–1558), Cipriano de Rore (c. 1515–1565), and Adrian Willaert (1490–1562)—all of whom had been dead for some time, but whose music had been closely and continuously associated with the Gardano firm under the

¹¹⁴ Antonio Gardano (Angelo's father) brought out Aiguino, *La illuminata* (1562) and Angelo Gardano brought out Antegnati, *L'Antegnata* (1608). The Scotto firm had a much deeper commitment to publishing books about music, which included the following: Del Lago, *Breve introduzione* (1540); Doni, *Dialogo della musica* (1544); Aaron, *Lucidario in musica* (1545); and the first edition of Galilei, *Fronimo* (part 1, 1568; part 2, 1569).

¹¹⁵ The most extensive discussion of Dalla Casa's life and works is Colussi et al., *Girolamo Dalla Casa*. Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei* provides a thorough overview of Galilei's book and traces the changes made in the second edition, which included 30 pages of additional counterpoint instruction. Palisca, introduction to Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music* remains the best general account of Galilei's life and works.

helm of Angelo's father, Antonio.¹¹⁶ In contrast, the musical examples in the second edition of Galilei's *Fronimo* are centered on a younger, still-living generation, particularly the music of Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594), Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525–1594), Alessandro Striggio (c. 1536–1592), and Giaches de Wert (1535–1596)—all strongly represented in the catalog of the Scotto firm.¹¹⁷

In all of these cases, both at Rome and at Venice, local music printers published treatises that helped define their brand identities. Market segmentation also permitted publishers to exploit and even to instigate public controversy from behind the scenes. Their treatises namedropped the most noteworthy composers, especially those whose works were available from the very same publisher. Likewise, their subject matters and theoretical approaches made gestures toward the niches and strong points of their publishers' outputs. Books *about* music also allowed books *of* music to cross generic boundaries and performance conventions by making vocal works available to instrumentalists. On a more basic level, by teaching the basics of music, books about music made books of music accessible to new readers, while withholding more advanced knowledge from public view. In this way, printers offered points of connection between different items in their catalogs, and perhaps more importantly between composers, authors, readers, and performers.

¹¹⁶ This is especially true of Janequin and Willaert. Gardano published three of Janequin's four major Venetian publications: *La bataglie...libro primo* (1545 = RISM J446), *Il secondo libro de canzon francese* (1548 = RISM 1548⁵; reprinted 1560 = RISM 1560⁸). Gardano published editions of the majority of Willaert's works, perhaps most importantly *Musica nova* (1559 = RISM W1126). Although not identical, the woodcut frame on the title page of Dalla Casa's treatise is very similar to the frame Gardano used for *Musica nova*.

¹¹⁷ See, especially, Scotto's editions of works by Striggio (18 editions), Monte (35 editions), and Palestrina (30 editions). Gardano published works by many of these composers as well, but in fewer quantities.

Cross-promotion and product bundling in Franceschi's Zarlino editions

The market segmentation I have proposed above is subtle, perceptible only in the broader output of single printers and groups of printers. In this section, I consider more overt marketing strategies. I examined in chapter two the textual transformation of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* through three editions, considering how each edition increasingly conformed to expectations about the structure and appearance of printed books. In this section, I consider more intensively Zarlino's relationship with the Venetian publisher Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, showing how the two struggled to find effective strategies for marketing their publications. In addition to the techniques of piggybacking on current events and playing into reader expectations (considered above and throughout chapter two), I focus in particular on two marketing techniques, cross-promotion and product bundling.

The year 1561 marked a turning point for Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. Prior to this, he was merely a humble bookseller (*libraio*). That year, however, the Venetian Senate granted him a license to establish his own press and granted him the exclusive privilege to publish four books: an Italian translation of Strabo's *De geographia* (part 1 appearing in 1562, part 2 in 1565), a book on the compounding of medicine by Girolamo Calestani (*Osservationi nel comporre gli antidoti et medicamenti*, 1562), a now-lost work on the subject of obedience by Giovanni Giovano Pontano, and "il libro di D. Pre. Ioseph Carlini De patientia."¹¹⁸ This last item is Zarlino's *Utilissimo trattato della patientia*, which appeared that same year in a small sextodecimo edition. Around the same time, in both 1561 and 1562, Franceschi came to create two new issues of the first edition of Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558) by printing new

¹¹⁸ I-Vas, Senato terra, registro 53 (1560–1561), 23 September 1561, f. 197v. Partially transcribed in Da Col, "The Tradition and Science," 38n.

first sheets with revised title pages—whether by purchasing the unsold stock or by some other business transaction remains unclear.

Zarlino's *Trattato* was the first of these books to appear in 1561 and is thus the first work to issue from Franceschi's press.¹¹⁹ The book is dedicated to Leonora d'Este, a nun and daughter of Alfonso I d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia, the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara.¹²⁰ The title page commends the work to a pious, if self-selecting audience: "to all those who desire to live like a Christian."¹²¹ Behind the veneer of devotion is a shrewd attempt to market both the *Trattato* and the *Istitutioni*, which is revealed in Zarlino's dedicatory epistle to Leonora d'Este. The dedicatory letter begins not by describing the contents of the treatise or by extolling the virtues of its dedicatee. Instead, the text begins as follows:

I have always been of a mind, your Most Illustrious and Reverend Ladyship, as much as my strength has been sufficient, to be of benefit to everyone, and all those who know me know it too well. I have shown this the past few years, with the publication of *Le institutioni harmoniche*, a useful and (to tell the truth) necessary work for all those who delight in music and desire to know with true certainty those things—not only practical, but also speculative—that are discussed in it.¹²²

Only after this moment of self-promotion does Zarlino address how he came to write such a work and presents it to Leonora as a reflection of her own spiritual devotion. This was not the

¹¹⁹ Judd and Schiltz, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s*, xxiv doubts the existence of this edition. A copy dated 1561 survives at I-Rv, shelfmark S.Borr. I.III.56. I am grateful to Elisabetta Caldelli for answering several queries about this copy.

¹²⁰ Zarlino's relationship with the Este family is treated at length in Schiltz, "Gioseffo Zarlino and the *Miserere* Tradition," 202–15. Working only from Franceschi's second edition of 1583, Schiltz notes incorrectly that Zarlino dedicated the *Trattato* to Leonora posthumously.

¹²¹ "a tutti quelli che desiderano vivere christianamente." Zarlino, *Utilissimo trattato della patientia* (1561), sig. π1r.

¹²² "SEMPRE son stato di animo Illustriss. & Reverendiss. Signora, per quanto siano state bastevoli le forze mie, di giovare ad ogn'uno: & tutti coloro che mi conoscono troppo bene lo sanno. La onde havendolo gli anni passati dimostrato, col dare in luce le ISTITUTIONI harmoniche: opera (per dire il vero) non meno utile, che necessaria a tutti quelli che della Musica si diletmano, & desiderano di sapere con veri fondamenti quelle cose che in essa, non solamente intorno la prattica; ma etiandio intorno la speculativa, si trattano." Zarlino, *Utilissimo trattato della patientia* (1561), sig. π2r.

first time Zarlino had done this—the first edition of the *Istitutioni* (1558) promotes his very first publication (a book of motets, 1549) and the forthcoming theoretical sequel (*Dimostrationi harmoniche*, 1571).

I read this as an early instance of the marketing technique known as cross-promotion or product placement. In this technique, advertisements for one product are placed inside the contents of others, creating a synergistic relationship between them. The effect, or at least the desired one, is to increase attention and sales for the product placed the others. In this instance, then, Zarlino's *Trattato* advertises Franceschi's newly-created issues of the *Istitutioni*. This was good business sense. An affordable, pocket-sized book on the popular subject of patience would have been a profitable venture for any publisher.¹²³ This instance of cross-promotion directed readers to a much larger, and likely expensive book. Assuming that Franceschi held the rights to sell the *Istitutioni*, the profits from both books might have helped to secure Franceschi's foothold in the Venetian book trade.

During the 1570s, Franceschi published two more books by Zarlino, the *Dimostrationi harmoniche* (1571) and a second edition of the *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1573). In both books, Zarlino departs from strategies employed in his earlier works. The first point of departure is literary style. Whereas the *Istitutioni* is conceived in a traditional didactic style, the *Dimostrationi* is written as a dialogue, with well-known and erudite figures in witty conversation. Zarlino's *Dimostrationi* strategically draws on contemporary enthusiasm for

¹²³ Around forty editions of books on the subject of patience were printed in Italy during the sixteenth century. The more noteworthy works include the following: Baldacchini, *Dyalogo de patientia* (1525); Barbieri, *Dialoghi spirituali* (1589); Cacciaguerra, *Epistola...sopra l'infermità, patientia, et felice* (1563); Campani, *Lamento di quel tribulato...sopra il male incognito, il quale tratta della patientia et impatientia* (1521); Cavalca, *Trattato della patientia* (1541); and Soncino, *Dialogo di patientia* (1558);

literary dialogues, most notably Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro de cortegiano* (1528).¹²⁴ All of the interlocutors, with the exception of one Signore Desiderio (a reader surrogate), were prominent figures in Italian musical life:

- Adrian Willaert (c. 1490–1562), recently-deceased *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica di San Marco and the individual responsible for its rise in reputation;
- Francesco dalla Viola (d. 1568), also recently-deceased *maestro di cappella* at the court of Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and author of the dedication of Willaert's *Musica nova* to Alfonso;
- Claudio Merulo (1533–1604), the Basilica's famed first organist, prolific composer, and occasional printer of music; and
- Gioseffo Zarlino (c. 1517–1591), then-current *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica di San Marco and the individual responsible for ensuring its institutional stability and continued excellence.¹²⁵

All of these figures act as mouthpieces for the author's ideas; Zarlino uses their distinctive personalities to articulate and defend various perspectives on his theories. In the *Dimostrationi*, Zarlino (the interlocutor) refers repeatedly to the *Istitutioni* and draws connections to the present work. At one point in the dialogue, Willaert, who was Zarlino's teacher, questions the pertinence of such gestures in the context of a discourse aimed at systematic demonstration:

ADRIANO: Before we proceed to another subject, answer me this: You have referred many times to ways of doing things as written in your *Istitutioni*. Nonetheless, in

¹²⁴ Judd, "Music in Dialogue," 51–58. See also Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue*; and Kelleher, "Zarlino's *Dimostrationi harmoniche* and Demonstrative Methodologies." Both Judd and Kelleher note that Zarlino's *Dimostrationi* (1571) is not a straightforward literary dialogue, but one hybridized with a formal demonstration or mathematical proof.

¹²⁵ Edwards, "Setting the Tone at San Marco."

it you truly demonstrate few things, from what I recall, proceeding instead from a practical angle. I want you to tell me more about this.

GIOSEFFO: This, Sir, is of little consequence...But I want you to know that, although in the *Istitutioni* I proceeded by showing things from a practical angle, as you said, such methods are not undertaken haphazardly. On the contrary, they are extracted from the source of the demonstrations [*Dimostrationi*] that mathematicians themselves have made...But when it happens that you hear mentioned something shown in the *Istitutioni*, don't be shocked, because I have demonstrated everything in it with all truth and with every piece of evidence, so as not to need further demonstration.¹²⁶

Taken at face value, Zarlino's response defends the validity of his emphasis on experiential knowledge in the *Istitutioni* by directing attention to its rigorously scientific origins. But Zarlino's response is also a self-referential play on words, suggesting that the *Istitutioni* drew not merely from mathematical methods of demonstration, but from the same font of knowledge as the *Dimostrationi*.

Zarlino's references to his own works take readers outside the dramatic conceit of the dialogue, referring to an intertextual play evident throughout his oeuvre. For example, in the reader's preface to the 1558 edition of the *Istitutioni*, he falsely claimed that the present work "mentions the *Dimostrationi harmoniche* in some places, together with some other work to which I have yet to give (as they say) a finishing touch."¹²⁷ Such references act as sophisticated cross-promotions. Even in 1558, Zarlino was advertising the *Dimostrationi*, which appeared over

¹²⁶ "ADRI. [...] ma innanzi che si proceda piu oltra ditemi una cosa. Voi havete allegato molte fiate il modo di operare alcuna cosa secondo le vostre Istitutioni: nondimeno in esse dimostrate poche cose, per quello che mi ricordo; anzi piu tosto procedete con un'atto pratico: però desidero, che sopra di questo mi diciate qualche cosa. GIOS. Questo Messere è di poco importanza. [...] Ma voglio che sapiate: se bene nelle Istitutioni hò proceduto nel mostrare le cose con atto pratico, come havete detto: che tali operationi non sono fatte à caso: anzi sono cavate dal fonte delle Dimostrationsi, che hanno fatto di loro i Mathematici. [...] Però quando per l'avenire udirete nominare alcuna cosa mostrata nelle Istitutioni, non vi scandalizate: perche hò dimostrato ivi il tutto con ogni verità, et con ogni prova. onde non fa di bisogno di farne altra dimostratione." Zarlino, *Dimostrationi* (1571), 38.

¹²⁷ Corwin, "Le *istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino, Part 1," 99 (adapted). "le DIMOSTRATIONI Harmoniche in alquanti luoghi di questa Opera nominate, & qualche altra cosa appresso; alle quali non hò ancora (come si dice) posto l'ultima mano." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), sig. π6r.

a decade later in 1571. The *Dimostrations* reciprocates by advertising the *Istitutioni*. Zarlino's efforts at cross-promotion in the *Istitutioni* and *Trattato della patientia* lie on the surfaces of their texts, acting merely as casual references. In contrast, Zarlino's adoption of the dialogue genre in the *Dimostrations* allows Zarlino to embed more deeply his advertisements for the *Istitutioni*. As an author, Zarlino contrived an opportunity to discuss this practice through Willaert's pointed query; Zarlino's response as an interlocutor makes clear that the near-constant references to the *Istitutioni* were an integral part of the dialogue. This was also an ingenious marketing ploy, as it allowed the advertisement to become more pervasive while avoiding the appearance of crassness or obvious salesmanship.

In 1573, Franceschi published the second, revised edition of the *Istitutioni*. I showed in chapter two that Zarlino and Franceschi designed this edition to match closely the *Dimostrations*, omitted the definite article *le* from the title, and adopted the order of modes proposed in the *Dimostrations*; the new edition also introduced marginal annotations and a subject index. The effect was to make the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrations* as companions, and they probably were sold as such. These changes reflect a deeper attempt to harmonize the contents of Zarlino's various publications. I read all of this as an instance of product bundling or tying, a marketing technique in which a company's products are associated and sold together. By bundling the two books, Franceschi (or any other bookseller, for that matter) could have increased sales for two lengthy, folio-sized, expensive volumes. This was a win-win scenario for buyer and seller. On the one hand, Franceschi could have appealed to buyers by setting a bundled price that was less than their combined retail values. On the other hand, increased sales volume still could have netted Franceschi a handsome profit. The large number of surviving copies bound together (listed in chapter two) suggests that bundling books was an effective strategy for moving inventory. The

copies of the *Istitutioni* (1562) bound with the *Dimostrationi* (1573) suggest that this bundling strategy may have taken root even before the second edition of the *Istitutioni* (1573) was published.

A noteworthy aspect of this strategy is the layering of multiple marketing techniques in Franceschi's selling of Zarlino's works during the 1570s. Literary and stylistic variety in the *Dimostrationi* improved Zarlino's image, both as a writer and mathematician, and made his theories accessible and even entertaining. Revisions, both cosmetic and substantive, helped make the *Istitutioni* more reader friendly. Bundling the two books stirred up sales for both volumes. Finally, cross-promotion is instantiated at a structural level, integrated into the argument of the *Dimostrationi*. This was true as well of the second edition of the *Istitutioni*, which included significant references to his own collection of motets, the *Modulationes sex vocum* (1566 = RISM Z100).¹²⁸

This strategy seems to have succeeded. In the wake of the *Dimostrationi* the second edition of the *Istitutioni*, four new books by Zarlino soon appeared, not from Franceschi's firm, but from the firms of Nicolini, Varisco, and Polo—all prominent and well-established Venetian printers (listed in table A1.6). Zarlino's ability to attract larger presses might have resulted from the marketing of his most recent editions. But Zarlino's pivot away from the subject of music is telling; these books consider instead chronology, the growth of religious orders, and calendric reform. I view this change in topic as a response to Zarlino's initial troubles in the world of book publishing and selling. (Consider, for instance, that copies of the 1558 edition and Franceschi's issues were still for sale in 1572). Books about music, no matter how well written, had a limited

¹²⁸ Judd and Schiltz, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s*, xii–xiii and xviii–xix discusses the connections between the *Modulationes* and the 1573 edition of the *Istitutioni*.

audience (see chapter four). In his books of the late 1570s and early 1580s, Zarlino involves himself in timely and culturally-relevant issues. For example, his treatise *De vera anni forma* (1580), dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, appeared in the midst of public debate on calendric reform. Gregory's 1582 reform ignored Zarlino's recommendations; in the following year, Zarlino published his pamphlet *Resolutioni de alcuni dubii sopra la correzione dell'anno di Giulio Cesare* (1583). One senses bitterness in Zarlino's explanation of the reform's more obscure points, which point up the confusion wrought by the reform among merchants and the religious.¹²⁹ In the address to his readers of the *Resolutioni*, Zarlino also took the opportunity to advertise his previous works, including *De vera anni forma*, the *Istitutioni harmoniche*, and the *Dimostrationi harmoniche*. He even gives advance notice of the *Sopplimenti musicali*, which he promises will be "most useful and necessary (I believe) for understanding many things explained by me in my *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi harmoniche*, which up to now many (from what I gather in their writings) have misunderstood."¹³⁰ In *De vera anni forma* (1580), Zarlino also made the earliest reference to his never-published and presumably-lost manuscript treatise *De utraque musica*.¹³¹ Ultimately, even when writing about subjects other than music, Zarlino continually returned to it as a means of self-promotion.

¹²⁹ Zarlino, *Resolutioni* (1583), 28–29. Judd and Schiltz, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s*, xxiv briefly describes Zarlino's relation to Gregorian calendric reform.

¹³⁰ "molto utili & anco necessarii (come credo) alla intelligentia di molte cose da me esplicate nelle mie Institutioni & Dimostrationsi harmoniche, lequali da molti fin'hora (per quello ch'io comprendo da i loro scritti) sono state poco intese." Zarlino, *Resolutioni* (1583), 5.

¹³¹ Zarlino, *De vera anni forma* (1580), sig. a2v describes to Pope Gregory XIII how he has "written twenty-five books *De utraque musica*, composed with no little effort, which I hope to publish shortly for you to read" ("quin etiam libros Vigintiquinque De utraque Musica inscriptos non sine multo sudore composuerim; quos breui, ut confide, tibi in apertum relatos leges"). Judd and Schiltz, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s*, xxiii traces Zarlino's numerous references to this work throughout his oeuvre, suggesting credibly that this work refers to the Latin translations of the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi* promised in the reader's preface to the 1558 edition of the *Istitutioni* and the privilege that protected it.

Franceschi's publication of Zarlino's *De tutte l'opere* (1588–1589), a four-volume set of his complete works, was premised on a similar multilayered marketing strategy. The first volume to emerge (but the third in sequence) was the *Sopplimenti musicali*, which appeared during Zarlino's protracted debate with Vincenzo Galilei. In it, Zarlino defends and consolidates the positions of his previous works; like the *Dimostrationi*, polemical discourse allowed Zarlino to embed advertisements into the argument of the work itself. A descriptive phrase on the work's title page about its contents makes this clear:

[*Sopplimenti musicali*,] in which are explained many things contained in the first two volumes, the *Istitutioni* and the *Dimostrationi*, because they have been misunderstood by many, who are answered alongside their calumnies.¹³²

This was the only newly-composed work of the set; publishing it first, at a time when it was controversial, made the set more appealing than simply beginning with yet another edition of the *Istitutioni*. The fourth volume, which contained Zarlino's nonmusical writings, likewise appealed to buyers' tastes. These works appeared previously in smaller formats (quarto, duodecimo, and sextodecimo); their collection in a folio-sized collection is significant. I argued above that changes in material form carried with them changes in connotative meaning. The promotion of these works into folio was an elevating gesture that underscored their importance in Zarlino's output. By publishing a controversial new work as the third volume, and then known sellers as the fourth volume, Franceschi cunningly manipulated his customers, drawing attention to volumes one and two (the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi*). I read this as another instance of product bundling, but conceived on an even grander scale.

¹³² "Ne i quali dichiarano molte cose contenute ne i Due primi Volumini, delle Istitutioni & Dimostrationi; per essere state mal'intese da molti; & si risponde insieme alle loro Calonnie." Zarlino, *Sopplimenti* (1588), sig. a1r.

In chapter two, I observed that Zarlino's *De tutte l'opere* reflected an intellectual continuity only latent in their separate editions, attempts at cross-promotion notwithstanding. Throughout the complete-works edition, Zarlino and Franceschi take several opportunities to make these ties explicit. For example, Zarlino's *Discorso intorno il vero anno et il vero giorno nel quale fu crucifisso il nostro Signor Giesu Christo* (1580) begins with a dedication to Giovanni Trevisano, the Patriarch of Venice. In it, Zarlino begs Trevisano's pardon for the work's delay, explaining that he was too busy to engage sufficiently in studying the necessary subjects. In the complete-works edition, Zarlino modifies his statement to draw attention to those subjects that proved a distraction from his studies in astronomy, chronology, and history.

1580: I had not been able to attain this desired end, chiefly because earlier I did not continue, due to my having to attend to other things, with the study of astronomy, nor did I work as long at that of chronology or history—very important things for this enterprise.¹³³

1589: I had not been able to attain this desired end, chiefly because earlier I did not continue (due to my having to attend to other, much more important things, chiefly those pertaining to music) with the study of astronomy, nor did I work as long at that of chronology of history—very important things for this enterprise.¹³⁴

This, and similar tweaks, allowed Zarlino and Franceschi to tease out the through-lines among his output, making note of the points of intersection between his works. Much like his comment about the *Sopplimenti*'s relation to the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi*, these cross-referential and

¹³³ “non havesse potuto conseguire il fine desiderato; massimamente perche prima non ho continuato, per haver'io atteso ad altre cose, lo studio dell'Astronomia, nè meno dato opera lungamente à quello della Chronologia, overo Historia; cose molto importanti à questo negotio.” Zarlino, *Discorso* (1579), 3.

¹³⁴ “non havesse potuto conseguire il fine desiderato; massimamente perche prima non havea continuato (per haver io atteso ad altre cose maggiormente importanti & massimamente à quelle della Musica,) lo studio dell'Astronomia, nè meno dato opera lungamente à quello della Chronologia, over Historia; cose molto importanti à questo negotio.” Zarlino, *De tutte l'opere*, 4:68.

self-referential moments of revision allow Zarlino to make the four-volume set more cohesive, certainly a selling point for would-be buyers.

Franceschi's strategy for promoting Zarlino's complete works extended to works by other authors. I examined above the relationship between Amadino and Franceschi, considering the presence of Amadino's font of musical type in Franceschi's publications and how Amadino's publication of Oratio Tigrini's *Il compendio della musica* (1588) coincided with Franceschi's editions of Zarlino's complete works—another instance of market segmentation as the two products seem to have appealed to different kinds of buyers. Furthermore, around the same time, Franceschi published Fabio Paolini's *Hebdomades* (1589), a numerological exploration of the seven liberal arts.¹³⁵ Paolini's book discusses music at great length (pp. 57–108), focusing extensively on the mathematical basis of music. Paolini is well-versed in Greek and Latin writers on the subject of music, but draws from a limited set of modern authors: Nicola Vicentino, Stefano Vanneo, and Zarlino. Zarlino receives praise above all other sources. Phrases such as “ut praeclarè ostendit Zarlinus” (“as Zarlino so brilliantly shows”) appear repeatedly in Paolini's chapter on music.¹³⁶ Franceschi concurrently released Paolini's *Hebdomades* and Zarlino's complete works; Paolini's references to Zarlino's works establish a synergistic relationship between several books in Franceschi's catalog. The emphasis on music as mathematics in Paolini's *Hebdomades* also suggests that Zarlino's works, by virtue of their breadth of topic,

¹³⁵ The only musicological study of this book is McDonald, “Music, Magic, and Humanism.”

¹³⁶ Paolini, *Hebdomades* (1589), 62. Citations to Zarlino's works label him “eruditionis vir” (“man of erudition,” 67), “doctissimus vir” (“most learned man,” 86), and “praestantissimus vir” (“most excellent man,” 102). Ibid., 64 describes Zarlino's works as follows: “One might profitably endeavor to read through his books about music, which have brought the greatest light to this art” (“velit uberius degustare, eius de Musica libros perlegat, quibus summam lucem huic arti attulit”).

appealed to many different kinds of readers in ways that more practically-oriented music treatises could not.

In summary, Franceschi executed a multilayered marketing strategy to publish Zarlino's complete works. The multivolume edition makes the bundling technique explicit. The *Soppimenti*, in responding to Galilei and other unnamed critics, drew on current debates in Italian musical thought. The folio-sized reprints of his books on timely subject matters increased their desirability. The timing and placement within the set of volumes three and four directed readers to the first two volumes, the *Istitutioni* and the *Dimostrationi*. Revisions in these volumes make them still more accessible to new readers. Finally, cross-promotion within other publications by Franceschi and Amadino advertise Zarlino's works.

This entire section has analyzed the activities of printers and publishers from contrasting levels of observation. From the macroscopic level of entire markets in a particular city or region, one notes how groups of printers partitioned the marketplace into individual niches and subspecialties. From the more microscopic level of a single author's works in a printer's catalog, one notes how the two worked together in a way that was mutually beneficial. Both levels bring out this pattern of segmentation and brand identification. Printed books about music were a central part of these enterprises. The verbal discourse in such books allowed their authors, editors, and printers to make explicit statements and arguments about repertories of music. The shrewdest and keenest of these went beyond the limited marketing strategies evident in the paratexts of other kinds of musical publications. Such books about music made vital connections between their printers' catalogs by advertising or at least suggesting the value of other books to prospective buyers. This little-appreciated commercial aspect played a significant role in shaping the development of musical theory and practice during the Renaissance.

Conclusion

Many Renaissance music theorists cultivated friendships and professional relationships with their printers and publishers. Heinrich Glarean, for example, is mentioned in the infamous *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1517), a printed collection of satirical poems and letters censured officially by Pope Leo X. One poem, written by one Magister Philipp Schlauraff, relates a fictional encounter that lambasted Glarean for his vainglorious and pugnacious attitude:

There, within the house of Froben, many heretics abide,
Notably one Glareanus, who my aching back and side
Buffeted with thumps resounding, then to finish, knocked me down,
Though I cried aloud for pity, “Mercy! by thy laurel crown!”¹³⁷

Among the many significant aspects of this reference is the image of Glarean ensconced chummily in the retinue of the printer Johannes Froben, the publisher of Glarean’s *Isagoge in musicen* (1516) and several other early works. At least in this satirical book, the printer’s house was not a desirable place in which to be seen. In Schlauraff’s letter, the printing house stands as a synecdoche for the city of Basel, known for its tolerance of religious heterodoxy, coincidentally the reason Glarean fled there in 1529 for Freiburg im Breisgau.

Also implicit in Schlauraff’s letter is the notion that the ideal expression of thought is antithetical to everyday concerns about finance and commerce. This chapter seeks to disrupt this idea, showing how printers of Renaissance books about music used business acumen and the tools of the trade to facilitate communication between authors and readers. I have considered the nature of several instances of this facilitation through the activities of printing, publishing, and selling books. The design of printed books about music helped to communicate a book’s

¹³⁷ *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1909), 2:416. “Sed in domo Frobenii sunt multi pravi haeretici, / Necnon Glarianus, qui imposuit mihi manus / Precutiens in dorsum, et proiciens deorsum. / Et dixi ‘per tuam lauream: Fac mecum misericordiam.’” Ibid., 1:152.

message to its readers. Changes in design and format allow us to see how printers altered a book's message in relation to the priorities of its buyers. Similarly, the technical struggle to print scores in books about counterpoint illustrates the balancing of priorities negotiated in the print-shop between, on the one hand, a printer's efficiency and profitability and, on the other hand, clear communication between authors and readers. Finally, marketing practices and strategies show how books about music served to expand the market for books of music both by promoting musical literacy and by advertising individual music books and groups of them. The nature of this facilitation offers critical insight into the development of the book trade during the Renaissance, as few other subjects faced similar obstacles in bringing works to the public.

CHAPTER FOUR: READERS

This chapter considers readers of Renaissance books about music from two interrelated perspectives: the social functions of such books and the subject of musical literacy. The first section surveys generally patterns of ownership—who were the typical owners of different types of books about music? The second section considers patterns of book-use—how did readers use their books? On the basis of these patterns of ownership and use, I propose that annotations left behind in books about music provide extensive evidence of early-modern patterns of musical literacy, which should be interpreted from the context of the bibliographical cues in these books and their social functions. The third section presents a new assessment of musical literacy during the Renaissance by examining how readers derived meaning from musical examples without reference to sound.

The history of reading during the Renaissance has received very little attention from musicologists, especially compared to the scholarly attention lavished on authors and printers of books of music. This is a reflection of the state of sixteenth-century musical sources. Only a handful of books of music survive in great quantities and many copies show little apparent evidence of use; this is true of sources in both print and manuscript. The attrition rate of surviving copies, their wide geographical dispersal at present, and the preferences of antiquarians, book-dealers, and libraries have filtered access to musical sources and shaped the ways that scholars interact with them. These have discouraged the study of the historical use of and reader engagement with books of music.

The intersection of musical literacy and notational format (score, choirbook, partbook, etc.) has been an important musicological concern for several decades. The existing literature seeks to understand the role that different material forms and notational formats played in understanding and composing music.¹ The most extensive study on this subject, Jessie Ann Owens' *Composers at Work*, shows how the musical texts in music-theory books shed light on issues of musical literacy. A recent study by Adam Whittaker traces developments in medieval reading practices through the musical examples in the treatises of Johannes Tinctoris.² To date, no scholar has approached this subject using the wealth of evidence encountered in surviving copies of them.³

At the outset, it is worthwhile to meditate briefly on some methodological concerns, especially because this area of study is so fresh within musicological inquiry. Evidence of ownership and use of books about music must be interpreted carefully. Although books about music survive in far greater quantities than books of music, book historians estimate that approximately two-thirds to three-quarters of any given edition have not survived to the present.⁴ Extant copies are the remnants of a process of self-selection that gives preference to pristine copies, so-called association copies (those formerly owned by well-known historical figures), and bibliographical curiosities (copies with distinctive bindings, unusual pairings of contents,

¹ Austern, "The conceit of the minde"; Blažeković, "Crossovers in Paduan Narratives"; Cumming, "From Chapel Choirbook"; Haggh, "Composers-Secretaries and Notaries"; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*; Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 1–47; Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*; van Orden, "Children's Voices"; van Orden, *Materialities*, 117–131; Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*"; and Wilson, "Isaac the Teacher."

² Whittaker, "Musical Exemplarity."

³ Weiss, "Vandals, Students, or Scholars?" presents a preliminary sketch of marginalia in music textbooks that serves as a point of a departure for this study.

⁴ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 353–56; and Pettegree, "The Legion of the Lost." The attrition rate of music books seems to have been much higher. See Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, 2–4; and van Orden, *Materialities*, 88–98.

etc.).⁵ These must be understood as extreme ends of a spectrum of ownership and usage during the period immediately following publication. Copies lying between these extremes demonstrate reading habits of lay readers, as opposed to professional musicians, aristocratic elite, and bibliomaniacal collectors, whose books have received the most attention from scholars. Because their owners generally are unknown, these copies in the middle of the spectrum—the most useful for present purposes—are precisely those that have vanished over time in the greatest quantities.⁶

Readers are notoriously difficult to pin down. Books transform their readers as much as readers transform their books. To read annotated books is to read the development of their readers; their skills, interests, and habits evolve dynamically in relation to their books and are thus difficult to isolate or fix conceptually. Sometimes, we know only the name of a book's owner, if that, and nothing else. In the intervening centuries since their first creation and use, dramatic upheavals—social transformations, political conflicts, tragic genocides—also have dispersed Renaissance books across the globe. All of these factors make it difficult to place books and their readers in their original contexts.

Two kinds of readers pose special problems. Anonymous readers are those whose identities are unknown entirely, because we have no record of their name, whether in the form of signatures or of provenance records. Then there are those readers whose identities are known, but about whom we know very little. Both anonymous and little-known readers routinely are ignored in scholarship on the history of reading, for the obvious reason that it can be difficult to establish the context in which they lived. This is unfortunate, as the kinds of marks they leave in their books sometimes provide the most penetrating insights: brutally honest commentaries about their

⁵ Sherman, *Used Books*. See also Congalton, "Complicated Lives"; and Tanselle, *Other People's Books*.

⁶ Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*, 3–9.

books and reading abilities, or consistent evidence about their reading practices and habits. In some cases, we can deduce certain aspects of their identities other than their name (e.g., age or occupation) based on these marks and the books in which they appear. For example, annotations in an uncertain hand with confused Latin grammar in a book on the rudiments of singing strongly suggest that the book's owner was a student in a German Latin school.

These reservations notwithstanding, the surviving copies of books about music afford a synoptic overview of their use and ownership. Many copies of a given book show only moderate to light evidence of use, but this sparse evidence, considered altogether, presents a wide range of that book's usage. This is the chief benefit of a wide collative survey such as that undertaken for this study. Moreover, thanks to higher rates of survival, books about music are positioned as the ideal sources for the study of musical readership during the Renaissance. References to books in contemporary historical documents (booklists, seller catalogs, letters, other books, etc.) indicate that there are a significant number of so-called "ghost editions" of printed books of music (i.e., books for which no copies have survived).⁷ The same is not true for printed books about music. Thus, we have a more complete picture of patterns in the publication of books about music and their subsequent usage.

Patterns in ownership

Who owned and read printed books about music during the Renaissance? This question is key to assessing the reception of music discourse during the Renaissance, an increasingly important

⁷ J. Bernstein, "Buyers and Collectors"; L. Bernstein, "The Bibliography of Music"; Chapman, "Printed Collections of Music"; Haar, "The *Libraria* of Antonfrancesco Doni"; Krummel, *Bibliotheca bolduaniana*; Ongaro, "The Library"; van Orden, *Matieralities*, 67–116. It is notable that none of the booklists, catalogs, and libraries considered in the studies by J. Bernstein, Chapman, and Ongaro contain any books about music. Krummel's study cross-references the appearances of books about music in seller catalogs at the Frankfurt Book Fair and in Bolduan's bibliography. Further traces of books about music in the book trade are recorded in appendix three.

subject in the history of music theory. This question also helps to contextualize the production of these books, allowing us to understand better their target audiences and rationale. Evidence for answering this question comes from several sources. Exemplars of the books themselves and references to them in other documents provide the most direct evidence. We must be wary, however, of biases within this evidence. Signatures and inscriptions in exemplars sometimes are forged and testimony that anyone owned or read a given book should be treated as suspect.⁸ More importantly, ownership is only half the story; we must also consider its use, which is discussed separately below.

The owners of books about music are as diverse as the books themselves, if not more so. This makes it difficult to offer blanket generalizations about patterns of ownership. The most effective strategy to delineate book ownership is by bibliographical format; this also has the benefit of highlighting the ways that a book's materiality carried significant meaning. The standard nomenclature of bibliographical format—folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, or sextodecimo, in either upright (portrait) or oblong (landscape)—indicates the number of leaves printed on the book's sheets, which were then folded, gathered, and bound. As the number of leaves increases, so the book's format and its size decrease. Paul F. Grendler has shown that, during the Renaissance, a book's format correlated roughly to its contents; generally speaking, the larger the book's format, the greater the scope, ambition, and relative prestige of its contents.⁹ Jessie Ann Owens has observed that this holds true in the realm of music theory.¹⁰ My research, summarized in appendix three, shows that patterns of ownership follow this correlation

⁸ For a cautionary tale with reference to the antiquarian trade in music books during the twentieth century, see Anderson et al., "Forgery in the Music Library."

⁹ Grendler, "Form and Function."

¹⁰ Owens, "You *Can* Tell a Book by Its Cover."

of format and content. In the sections that follow, I discuss each bibliographical format, from smallest to largest.¹¹

Octavo format

Books in octavo are made from sheets folded three times to produce gatherings of eight leaves or sixteen pages. Octavo is the smallest format commonly used in books about music.¹² Its modest size, approximately 10 × 15 centimeters, meant that the resulting books were portable. This is significant because reading traditionally took place in a single location, whether library, study, or classroom.¹³ Overwhelmingly, music books in octavo were used in classroom instruction to teach the rudiments of music theory, and especially the singing of chant and simple polyphony. The portability of octavo was appropriate in these cases, because students benefitted from the reinforcement of studying in multiple locations. Many of these books are catechistic in content, their question-and-answer format mimicking the method of rote instruction employed in the classroom. Books about music in octavo thus maximized pedagogical utility.

A select few octavo books about music were published in Italy, such as the anonymous *Cantorinus seu compendium musices* (1513) and Bonaventura da Brescia's *Regula musicae planae* (1497). The vast majority, however, were transalpine in origin and destined for German

¹¹ My rationale for proceeding upward in scale is that most similar surveys of this kind proceed downward in scale, privileging folio volumes. In terms of relative size of ownership, the opposite seems to have been the case—smaller books were owned in greater quantities.

¹² Smaller formats (duodecimo and sextodecimo) were possible, of course, but were used very rarely. I do not discuss here broadsides about music (single-sheet publications), which are very rare before the late sixteenth-century. One of the more well-known music-theory broadside is Vicentino, untitled description of the *arciorgano* (1561), about which see Vicentino, *Ancient Music*, xxiii; and Kaufmann, "Vicentino's *Arciorgano*."

¹³ Petroski, *The Book on the Bookshelf*, 100–128.

Latin schools, which trained choirboys for liturgical singing in Protestant churches.¹⁴ The following were among the most popular books about music published during the sixteenth century, judged in terms of number of editions and surviving copies.

- Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* (first ed. Nuremberg: Johann von Bern and Ulrich Neuber, 1548). Forty-six known later eds. at Augsburg, Breslau (now Wrocław), Brunswick, Erfurt, Frankfurt an der Oder, Görlitz, Goslar, Greifswald, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Wolfenbüttel, 1548–1617.
- Johannes Galliculus, *Isagoge de compositione cantus* (first ed. Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, 1520). Four later eds. as *Libellus de compositione cantus* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538–1553).
- Nicolaus Listenius, *Musica* (first ed. Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1537). Forty-five known later eds. at Augsburg, Frankfurt an der Oder, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Wittenberg, 1537–1583.
- Georg Rhau, *Enchiridion untriusque musicae practicae* (first ed. Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1517). Thirteen known later eds. at Leipzig and Wittenberg, 1517–1553).

The books by Faber and Listenius, in particular, formed the basis for many students' knowledge of music. Many of these editions are attested in only a single surviving copy, indicating that the books were read and reread to the point of literal destruction, or perhaps that they were not deemed important enough for preservation in a permanent collection of books.

¹⁴ Livingstone, "The Theory and Practice." Two octavo books about music produced for use outside primary education were Glarean, *Musicae epitome* (1557) and Glarean, *Uss Glareani Musick ein Usszug* (1557), which were designed for university students. Galilei, *Discorso intorno all'opere di Gioseffo Zarlino* (1589) is another curiosity in octavo, perhaps viewed as an occasional text.

The owners of books in octavo are the most difficult to identify by name. Often, they are identified simply by first name, toponym, or monogram (“Johannes,” “Johannes Lipsensis,” or “IL”/“JL”). And yet many of these readers left behind abundant or distinctive annotations. Such octavo-sized instructional books provide alluring glimpses into the world of schoolboys. For example, a copy of Martin Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1542) at US-Cn (shelfmark Vault Case 3A 726) contains in the back of the volume a *liber amicorum* consisting of twenty-four flyleaves (forty-eight pages) filled with handwritten comments from the owner’s friends—the sixteenth-century equivalent of yearbook signatures.¹⁵ Only through his friends’ annotations, dated from 1573 to 1575, do we know the identity of the book’s owner, one Johannes Colostrius, a student at the Kreuzschule in Dresden. For example, one representative annotation (figure 4.1) includes sayings by Cicero and Menader, and ends with the following signature:

Hæc, Joanni Colostrio | amico & fodali fuo, scri= | pfit Matthias Metthuius |
Dresldæ: 5 Nonas August. | Anno 1573.

Thus wrote Matthias Metthuius to his friend and comrade Johannes Colostrius, in
Dresden, the fifth of August, 1573.

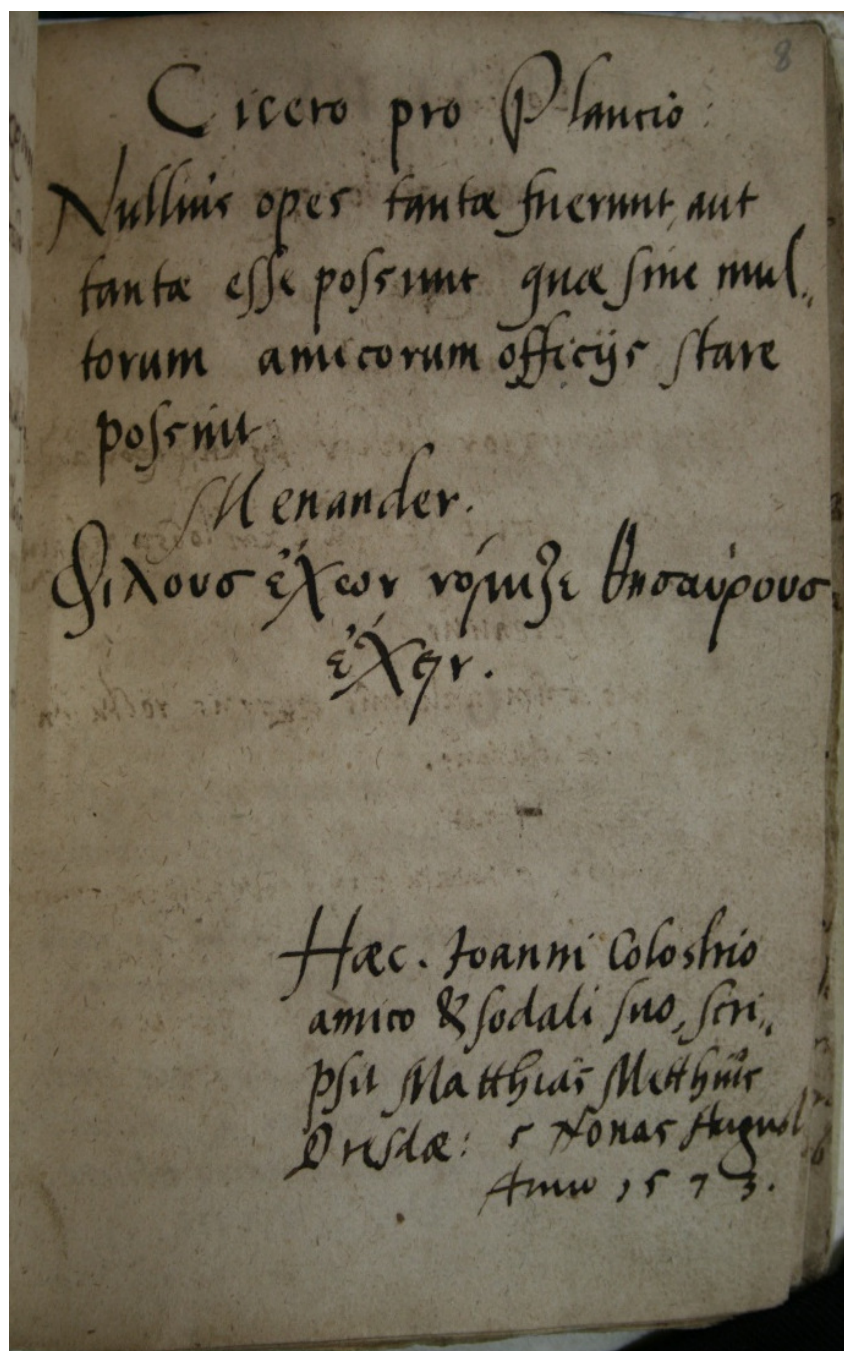
Colustrius’ copy of Agricola’s book is but one of many further copies of instructional books in octavo that provide strikingly detailed evidence of reader use.

Quarto format

Books in quarto are made from sheets folded twice to produce gatherings of four leaves or eight pages. The size of quarto format, approximately 15 × 20 centimeters, connoted approachability of topic, practicality of language, and an introductory scope. Books about music in quarto,

¹⁵ On the provenance of this volume, see G. W., “Aus dem Stammbuch.”

Figure 4.1 Excerpt from the *liber amicorum* attached to Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542), back flyl. 13r. US-Cn, shelfmark Vault Case 3A 726.



although learned in content, mostly were aimed at and read by lay readers, not specialists or professionals; generally, they provide an entry-level exposition of a music topic, so as to inspire further study. A handful of books about music in quarto were published outside Italy, such as Simon de Quercu's *Opusculum musices* (Vienna, 1509), and posthumous editions of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris, 1551). All of these *edizioni oltremontani* are in Latin and subscribe to the traditional view of music as a mathematical science; very few touch on practical concerns such as liturgical singing or counterpoint, Claudio Sebastiani's *Bellum musicale* (Strasbourg, 1563) being a notable counterexample.¹⁶

The vast majority of books about music in quarto were published in Italy. By and large, they present comprehensive overviews of particular musical topics. Among the first of these to appear was Johannes Tinctoris' *Terminorum musiace diffinitorium* (c. 1495), the first printed dictionary of music. The following are among the more popular books about music in quarto, again judged in terms of number of editions and surviving copies:

- Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545).
- Angelo da Picitono, *Fior angelico di musica* (Venice: Agostino Bindoni, 1547).
- Luigi Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (first ed. Naples: Matteo Cancer, 1552; second ed. Rome: Vincenzo Luchino, 1553).
- Vicente Lusitano, *Introdutione facilissima et novissima* (first ed. Rome: Antonio Blado, 1553; two later eds. at Venice, 1558 and 1561).
- Oratio Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1588; second ed., 1602).

¹⁶ Owens, "You Can Tell a Book by Its Cover," 351–57 and 368–71 provides a helpful list of later English examples that address practical concerns; many of these notably have oblong orientation.

An important commonality among these books is their use of vernacular Italian. Books about music in Italian first emerged in folio format (see appendix one for the works of Franchinus Gaffurius and his pupil Francesco Caza, 1492 and 1508). Nonetheless, the vernacular came to be associated most closely with books about music in quarto, given their accessibility and friendliness to lay readers.

The approachability of quarto-sized books is exemplified best in the *Dialogo della musica* (1544) of Antonfrancesco Doni (1513–1574), a famous Florentine *poligrafo* living at Venice. Doni's *Dialogo* is a one-of-a-kind dialogue that mixes performances of madrigals and motets with witty conversation in the vein of Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*.¹⁷ The book consists of four partbooks, the first of which contains the text of the dialogue and the canto parts of the musical numbers; the alto, tenor, and bass partbooks contain only the musical numbers. The partbooks are notable for their upright (portrait) orientation, whereas oblong (landscape) was the industry standard for most books in quarto format.¹⁸ Books about music generally followed patterns in the publication of prose books, not music of books, in their upright orientation. Several important counterexamples of this trend are accounted for in the booklists of Doni (see below).

The readers of books about music in quarto about whom we know the most are the most atypical readers of such books—musicians, composers, and music theorists who mentioned other books in their own writings or record them in their booklists. Thus, for example, we know from Antonfrancesco Doni that he owned or at least knew of a host of books of and about music. He

¹⁷ Haar, "Notes on the 'Dialogo della musica'"; Judd, "Music in Dialogue." For an extended assessment of Doni's activities as a *poligrafo*, see Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World*.

¹⁸ Krummel, "Oblong Format in Early Music Books."

lists the following books about music in *La libreria* (1550), one of the first bibliographies of music:¹⁹

- Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545).²⁰ In upright quarto.
- Pietro Aaron, *Toscanello in musica* (first ed. Venice: Bernardino and Matteo de Vitali, 1523; four later eds. at Venice, 1529–1562). In folio.
- Bonaventura da Brescia, *Regula musicae* (first ed. Brescia: Angelo Britannico, 1497; nineteen later eds. at Brescia, Milan, and Venice, 1500–1550). In octavo.
- Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontega, *Lettione seconda* (Venice: s.n., 1543). In oblong quarto.
- Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontega, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice: s.n., 1535). In oblong quarto.
- Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontega, *Regola rubertina* (Venice: s.n., 1542). In oblong quarto.
- Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia: Lodovico Britannico, 1533). In oblong quarto.
- Othmar Luscinius, *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (Strasbourg: Johannes Schott, 1536). In oblong quarto.
- Stefano Vanneo, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1533). In folio.
- Anonymous, *Cantorinus seu compendium musices* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Sessa, 21 November 1499; five later eds. there, 1513–1566). In quarto and octavo.

James Haar has shown that we must approach Doni's bibliographies with caution—simply because Doni lists a book does not mean he had even seen it, nor are his entries entirely free of

¹⁹ In the first edition of the *Libreria*, the list of “libri diversi composti” appears on f. 66v. Doni simply lists the books by author and short title; I indicate their bibliographical formats to foreground their material form.

²⁰ Aaron, *Lucidario* appears only in the last three of the five editions of the *Libreria*.

errors.²¹ The posthumous revision of Doni's *La seconda libreria* (1580) provides confirmation of this point. The list—probably not compiled by Doni, who died in 1574—includes four books by Gioseffo Zarlino: “Institutioni armoniche. Dimostrationsi armoniche. Trattato della Patienza. Dialogo della Musica.”²² The last item is clearly an error, a duplicate of Zarlino's dialogue, the *Dimostrationsi harmoniche* (1571).

More typical owners of books about music in quarto are very difficult to discern. Unlike books about music in octavo, which attracted a unified audience of students, these books attracted a more diverse assortment of owners and readers. Although most readers seem to have been adults—on the basis of matured handwriting—we are left with little information about their occupational or regional identities, except that they tended to write in Latin or Italian and seem not to have been professional musicians. (“Non intendo”/“I do not understand” is a frequently encountered annotation.) Although many of these books contain reader signatures and inscriptions, many such owners fall into the category of little-known readers, about whom we only know their names. This is likely a consequence of their being musical amateurs, typically forgotten over time.

Folio format

Books in folio are made from sheets folded once to produce gatherings of two leaves or four pages. Folio format, which measured approximately 20 × 30 centimeters, connoted academic style, formal language (whether in Latin or a vernacular), and a comprehensive scope. Books

²¹ “Haar, “The *Libreria* of Antonfrancesco Doni.” For a more recent appraisal of Doni's reliability as a bibliographer, see Bradbury, “Anton Francesco Doni and his *Librarie*.”

²² Doni, *La libreria* (1580), f. 26v. Zarlino's works do not appear at all in the earlier editions of *La seconda libreria* (1551).

about music in folio typically were aimed at the intellectually-minded elite (aristocrats, collectors, clerics, etc.), the libraries of institutions (monasteries, civic organizations, academies, etc.), and musicians (singers, instrumentalists, composers, and music theorists, to the extent they may be distinguished). They generally provide an authoritative exposition on a broad topic within the study of music (harmony, counterpoint, mode, etc.). The roominess of the folio-sized monograph made it the ideal vehicle for the introduction and explication of new concepts and theories. Unlike quarto and octavo, which tended to be viewed as cheap or workaday formats, folio was viewed as a luxurious format reserved for important or groundbreaking works. Editions and translations of ancient Greek and classical Latin texts, some newly recovered through the efforts of humanists, were published almost exclusively in folio, such as Giorgio Valla's translation of Cleonides's *Harmonicum introductorium* (1497) and Heinrich Glarean's translation of Boethius's complete works (1546).²³

The publication of books in folio was geographically diverse. Italy in general, and Venice in particular, remained the center of production of such books about music, although examples may be found in almost every region of Europe, especially Basel, London, Paris, and Salamanca (see chapter one). This was a consequence of the international reach of the Latin language, which still dominated primary and secondary education and which continued to shape patterns of thought. During the second quarter of the century, vernacular-language books in folio emerged as a popular alternative for works of serious intellectual weight. Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* (1523) followed the lead of Gaffurius and Caza, also drawing explicitly on the heels of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (completed 1519–1524, with excerpts widely circulated in manuscript before completion; first ed. 1525), which aimed to establish the Tuscan

²³ A notable exception is Euclid, *Rudimenta musices*, trans. Jean de la Pène (1557), published in quarto format.

dialect as the proper basis for the Italian language.²⁴ Appearing in the last years of the sixteenth century, Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597)—another genre-bending dialogue like Doni's—was the first English-language book about music in folio.

Books in folio were the least accessible to general audiences because they typically assumed prior knowledge of music or at least a solid foundation in the liberal arts curriculum. But because they were viewed as deluxe products, we have the most surviving copies of these works, and therefore know the most about their ownership. The following are among the more popular books about music in folio, again judged in terms of number of editions and surviving copies:

- Pietro Aaron, *Toscanello in musica* (first ed. Venice: Bernardino and Matteo de Vitali, 1523; four later revised eds. at Venice, 1529–1562).
- Lodovico Fogliano, *Musica theorica* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio and the Brothers of Nicolini da Sabbio, 1529).
- Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (first ed. Milan: Giovanni Pietro da Lomazzo for Guillaume Le Signerre, 1496; four later eds. at Brescia and Venice, 1497–1512).
- Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547).
- Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *In hoc libro contenta...Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (Paris: Jean Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl, 1496; four later eds. at Paris, 1503–1522; for posthumous editions in quarto, see above).
- Stefano Vanneo, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1533).

²⁴ For the publishing history and influence of Bembo's *Prose*, see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, 152.

- Nicola Vincetino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barré, 1555; reissue under same imprint, 1557).
- Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (Venice: s.n., 1558; four later reissues and revised eds. Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1561–1589).
- Gioseffo Zarlino, *Dimostrationi harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1571; reprint under same imprint, 1589).

Not surprisingly, the most avid consumers of Renaissance music theory were Renaissance musicians and music theorists. Although precious few copies of their books survive, we know that many of them read widely and attentively in their field, to judge at least from their written references to other authors. (References to printed books in the writings of Renaissance musicians also are recorded in appendix three.) However carefully music theorists read the works of their contemporaries, generally speaking, they did not preserve their responses in the books of their libraries. I show in appendix one that Gioseffo Zarlino, for example, typically did not write anything other than his name in his books. Bonnie Blackburn has shown that Giovanni Spataro typically included only brief corrections, sometimes omitting even his name.²⁵ Claudio Monteverdi wrote only his name on his copies of Zarlino's books; their heavily-used condition and his response to Giovanni Maria Artusi's critiques indicate, nonetheless, that he read them very closely. Rather, music theorists and other musicians likely recorded their thoughts in journals or commonplace books, which afforded more space for reflection than the margins of the books themselves. Copying out passages and arranging them by topic—whether in a formal commonplace book or not—was a time-honored tradition for digesting important works.²⁶ Thus,

²⁵ Blackburn, "Publishing Music Theory."

²⁶ Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*.

the reactions of many such readers are accessible only through the filter of their own publications, which are an important record of the dissemination of Renaissance music theory in print.

Bibliographical format and scholarly value

Different bibliographical formats appealed to different kinds of readers, both musicians and non-musicians. Books in octavo served students beginning their musical studies. Books in quarto served musicians, both amateur and professional, interested in expanding their intellectual horizons. Books in folio served professional musicians and well-educated lay readers. The topical and bibliographical variety of books about music and the diverse audiences for them have been underemphasized within the limited scholarship on their readership. Scholars have paid the most attention to folio-sized music theory books in studying the impact of Renaissance music theory. The names of Aaron, Gaffurius, Glarean, Vicentino, and Zarlino, authors of the most historically-significant books about music in folio, have attained places of honor in most histories of music, and indeed in this study. This has an appealing air of historical authenticity, as books in folio were viewed then and continue to be viewed now as prestige publications.

But this creates a skewed picture of the field of Renaissance music theory and its readers. Scholarly focus on books about music in folio leads to the tacit assumption that the subject appealed only to professional musicians and humanists, and that these individuals only read these kinds of books about music, whether in folio or any other format.²⁷ Although smaller-format

²⁷ This perhaps is made most explicit in Palisca, *Humanism*, which is dominated overwhelmingly by books in folio and manuscripts, both luxury commodities. Owens, "You Can Tell a Book by Its Cover," 377–78 makes a similar observation about the disproportionate representation of folio-sized books in Reese, *Fourscore Classics* (1957). Many overviews of the field of Renaissance music discourse that are balanced with respect to bibliographical formats (e.g., Moyer, *Musica Scientia*) could be enriched and refined substantially by making explicit reference to format as a connotative determinant of intended content, style, or audience.

books have assumed increasing importance in recent surveys of music education, their role as the most widely-read books about music and as establishers of paradigmatic thought during the Renaissance merit further attention.²⁸ Another area for further study is the connotative meanings of format beyond content, examined in chapter three. Studying a wider range of books about music and the habits of their diverse readers will contribute to an enriched picture of music education and the place of books in everyday life during the Renaissance.

Patterns in book-use

In 1602, Sir Thomas Bodley established a permanent library at the University of Oxford. Keen to prevent the misfortunes of previous libraries at Oxford, which had all but disappeared by the seventeenth century, he drafted a lengthy memorandum, the famed “Bodley Statutes,” which established the library’s governance, organization, and mission. Among the statutes is the following provision:

You shall Promise and Swear in the Presence of the Almighty God, That whensoever you shall repair to the Publick Library of this University, you will conform your self to study with Modesty and Silence; and use, both the Books, and everything else appertaining to their Furniture, with a careful Respect to their longest Conservation: And that neither your self in Person, nor any other whatsoever, by your Procurement or Privity, shall either openly or underhand, by way of embezzling, changing, razing, defacing, tearing, cutting, noting, interlining, or by voluntary corrupting, blotting, blurring, or any other manner of mangling or misusing, any one or more of the said Books, either wholly or in part, make any Alteration: But shall hinder and impeach, as much as lieth in you, all and every such Offender or Offenders, by detecting their Demeanour unto the Vice-Chancellor, or to his Deputy then in place, within the next Three Days after it shall come to your Knowledge: so help you God by Christ’s Merits, according to the Doctrine of his Holy Evangelists.²⁹

²⁸ See, for example, the essays in Murray et al., *Music Education*; and Groote et al., “Evidence for Glarean’s Music Lectures.”

²⁹ Bodley, *The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley*, 96–98.

Today, first-time patrons of the library are required to swear an oath affirming the same, but in much simplified language:

I hereby undertake not to remove from the Library, or to mark, deface, or injure in any way, any volume, document, or other object belonging to it or in its custody; not to bring into the Library or kindle therein any fire or flame, and not to smoke in the Library; and I promise to obey all rules of the Library.³⁰

This oath has become a quaint tradition; the library's gift shop sells t-shirts, towels, and tote bags emblazoned with the oath in both English and Latin in a pseudo-decayed sixteenth-century typeface, complete with rubricated initials and antique letterforms (e.g., “æ,” “œ,” and the pilcrow, ¶).

As one of the first public legal-deposit libraries, the oath provided an important safeguard for the collection's long-term preservation.³¹ This is because, up until the twentieth century, readers were taught to write in their books, and extensively so.³² This is very different from injunctions taught to young readers today, that to mark a book is to defile its sanctity. A motto by Geoffrey Whitney, the sixteenth-century English poet, makes explicit the imperative to use one's books in the fullest sense: “*Usus libri, non lectio prudentes facit*” (“The use of a book, not reading makes wise”).³³ Accompanying the motto are a woodcut illustration (figure 4.2) and a poem. The illustration juxtaposes two modes of book-use. The reader at the left stands at a

³⁰ Bodleian Libraries, “Library Regulations.”

³¹ Bodley also sensed that lending books threatened the library's longevity; hence, until the nineteenth century, most of the books were affixed to the shelves by chains or locked in cabinets under librarian supervision. Streeter, *The Chained Library*, xiv. For the history of the Bodley Statues, see Clapinson, *A Brief History of the Bodleian Library*, 16–26; and Clennell, “The Bodleian Declaration: A History.”

³² For the histories of reading pedagogy and marking in books, see Sherman, *Used Books*, 151–78.

³³ Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), 171; and Green, *Whitney's “Choice of Emblems”*, lxxix.

Figure 4.2. Two modes of reading in Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: Christopher Plantin, 1586), 171.



distance, gazing passively at the book open on the lectern. The reader at the right stands erect, actively reading the open book, touching it with his fingers, and probably reading it aloud. The poem hammers home the moral interpretation of the motto and illustration:

THE volumes great, who so doth still peruse,
 And dailie turnes, and gazeth on the same,
 If that the fruite thereof, he do not vse,
 He reapes but toile, and neuer gaineth fame:
 Firste reade, then marke, then practise that is good,
 For without vse, we drinke but LETHE flood.
 Of practise longe, experience doth proceede;
 And wisdom then, doth euermore ensue:
 Then printe in minde, what wee in printe do reade,
 Els loose wee time, and books in vaine do vewe:
 Wee maie not haste, our talent to bestowe,
 Nor hide it vp, whereby no good shall growe.³⁴

³⁴ Ibid.

Whitney's instruction first to read and then to mark one's books exemplifies the actions of Renaissance readers of books about music, which abound with evidence of their use. In this section, I outline broadly the kinds of marks made by their readers and consider briefly their functions. In sum, these marks enabled readers to chart their progress through a book and to make sense of its meanings. They fall roughly into two categories that correspond to the two kinds of texts encountered in books about music, textual marks and musical marks.³⁵ The end of this section considers further patterns in book-use involving customizations that allowed readers to modify the structure of a book without marking in it.

Textual marks

Sixteenth-century readers entered into a dialogical relationship with their books.³⁶ A reader's marks constitute one side of a kind of conversation with a book's author that allowed the reader to process, understand, and retain its contents. This applied doubly so for readers of books about music, which presented a difficult subject withheld during former times from general knowledge by a guild-like instinct toward secrecy. Marks of agreement form the most significant category of textual marks. The words "yes," "good," and "true" in various languages—*sì/oui/ja/si*, *ben/bien/gut/bonum*, and *vero/vrai/wahr/verum*—are among the most frequently encountered marginalia in books about music of all kinds. Likewise for their negations, "no," "bad," and "false"—*no/non/nein/non*, *cattivo/mal/schlecht/male*, and *falso/faux/falsch/false*. Their symbolic equivalents—check marks and exes, and, more rarely, exclamation marks and question marks—served as a convenient shorthand system.

³⁵ Here, I follow the lead of Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*, which lays out a broad typology of reader marks in printed books of music.

³⁶ Jackson, *Marginalia*, 81–100.

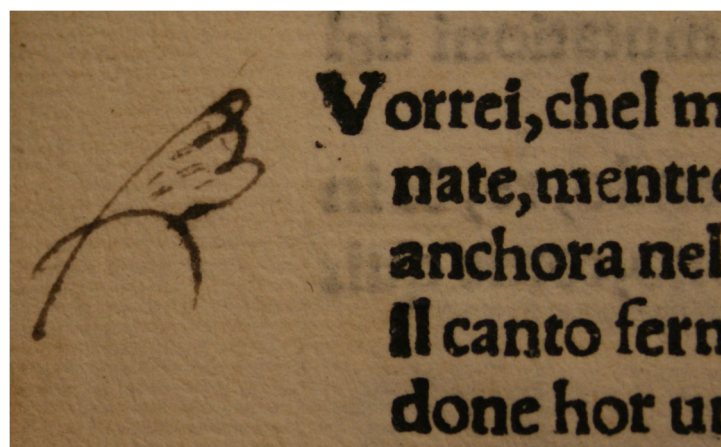
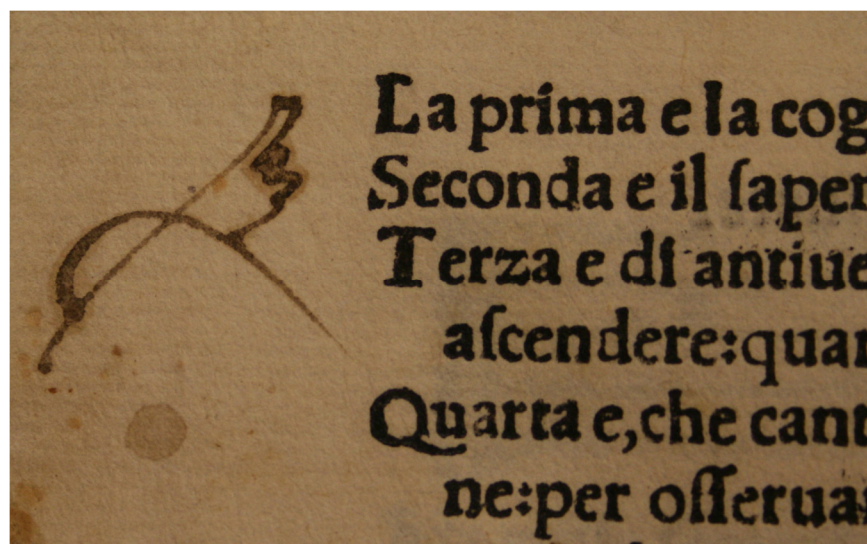
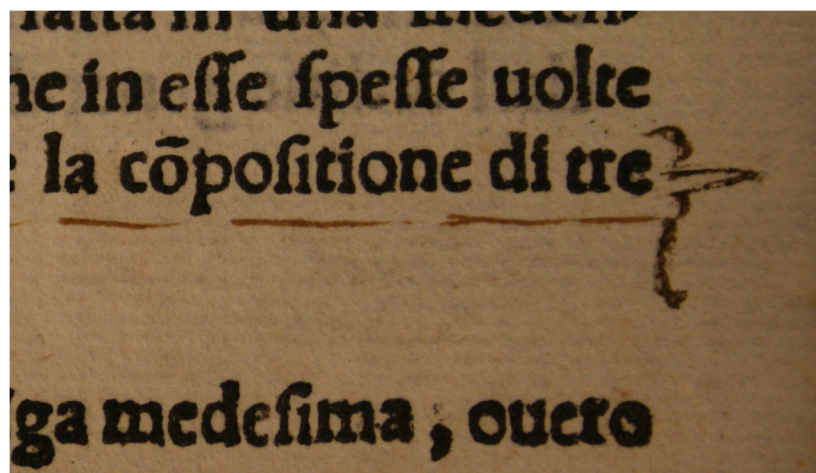
Marks of emphasis form another important category of textual annotations. With these marks, readers indicated important and significant passages, or ones to revisit at a later point in time. Underlining was the most prevalent method for marking emphasis, appearing in over eighty percent of the annotated exemplars I have examined. Longer passages were marked with vertical lines or brackets in the margins near the passage in question. Readers who underlined prolifically faced the problem of distinguishing and prioritizing their marks. Readers sometimes placed keywords, check marks, and variations of the phrase “nota bene” beside underlined passages to mark the most important ones. To mark special emphasis, Renaissance readers adopted a symbol developed by medieval scribes to denote important passages, the manicule (☞).³⁷ This mark, also called a fist, index, or pointer, quickly draws the eye. Stylizations of the manicule varied widely, even among individual annotators of books about music. Sometime a single squiggle sufficed; other times, readers introduced three-dimensional effects or added fingernails and cuffs. Figure 4.3 presents three variants of the manicule found among a single reader’s annotations; the first variant merges the pointed finger of the manicule with the bracket.

Other kinds of marks afforded a broader range of reader interactions beyond simple agreement or emphasis.³⁸ The most common of these are marks of clarification. These include keywords explaining shifts in subject matter, definitions of terms, and indications of a text’s inner structure (e.g., marking items in a list embedded in prose or noting the introduction of a new idea mid-paragraph). Occasionally, these are lengthier explanations of a text’s general meaning or significance, which present valuable insight into a reader’s thought processes. Marks of interrogation likewise indicate points at which the reader failed to understand the author’s

³⁷ Sherman, *Used Books*, 25–52.

³⁸ Jackson, *Marginalia*; Manguel, *A History of Reading*; Sherman, *Used Books*; and Stoddard, *Marks in Books*.

Figure 4.3. Three manicules in a copy of Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia: Lodovico Britannico, 1533), 12, 17, and 25. US-R, shelfmark Vault ML 171 .L268.



meaning or challenged propositions and assertions in the text. Marks of expansion—typically in the form of cross-references to other authorities and sources—illustrate how ideas and books figured into a reader’s larger interests and habits. Marks of correction bear witness to a reader’s recognition of the shortcomings of an author, editor, or printer.

In chapter two, I showed that during the Renaissance authors and printers of books about music began to add printed marginalia to their books as a means of anticipating readers’ needs. This was a reflection of well-established contemporary reading practices. Paul Saenger, Michael Heinlin, and Tobin Nellhaus have argued that annotating books provided authors, printers, and readers alike ways to make each page visually distinct.³⁹ The visual homogeneity of a plain typeset text presented challenges to the reader by offering very few optical vantage points; annotations made it easier for readers to scan and track passages along each page and provided a means for remembering the contents of a page through its appearance. For readers, this functioned in a tactile sense, too. Rebecca L. Fall has shown that the expression “mark my words,” which originated during the Renaissance, had both literal and figurative meanings.⁴⁰ We encounter traces of this process in the form of fingerprints, handprints, and ink smudges, a material reminder that inkwells were never far away from a reader’s hand. Readers sometimes copied out passages of a book verbatim, either in the margin, elsewhere in the book, or in a commonplace book. This process helped readers digest, understand, and remember a text’s meaning.

³⁹ Saenger and Heinlin, “Incunable Description,” 250–56; Nellhaus, “Mementos of Things to Come.”

⁴⁰ Fall, “Editorial Touches.” I am grateful to Dr. Fall for sharing this work with me.

One kind of copying-out particular to books about music is the sequence of integers developed by Guido of Arezzo to represent the pitches of the gamut.⁴¹ Arithmetic with large numbers is required to find the common terms for every intervallic possibility latent within the gamut. Today, such pitch sequences are represented numerically in cents or Hertz, which admit decimals and fractional parts that were only first developed during the sixteenth century.⁴² The resultant integer sequence puzzled many sixteenth-century readers, some of whom ventured to understand its logic. Consider, for example, the proportions of the lowest diapente (a segment of five contiguous pitches) of the gamut. The method for calculating the common terms of multiple proportions is to multiply the values of the common term and then cross-multiply to produce the other terms, proceeding iteratively with new proportions. To avoid having to reduce the terms, one expands the set by introducing where possible proportions with the smallest integers (i.e., 3:2 is preferred over 9:8). Thus, one begins with the perfect fifth (3:2) between Γ and D and the perfect fourth (4:3) between Γ and C. The common terms are found first by multiplying the values of the shared term for Γ ($3 \times 4 = 12$), then cross-multiplying this product to yield the other terms. Thus, the term for D is $2 \times 12 \div 3$, or 8; and the term for C is $3 \times 12 \div 4$, or 9. Incidentally, this process offers a proof that the proportion of the tone (between C and D) is 9:8.

D	2		8
C		3	9
B			
A			
Γ	3	4	12

⁴¹ The most well-known examples of this interval sequence are Gaffurius, *Practica* (1496), sig. a3v; Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 4; and Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 104. It should be noted that the integer sequence represents lengths of a string; thus lower pitches have larger numbers and vice-versa, which runs counter to modern systems that assign larger numbers to higher pitches.

⁴² The modern system of decimal notation was first described by Flemish mathematician and physicist Simon Stevin in *De thiende* (1585).

This diagram shows that the proportion in smallest terms of Γ :C:D is 12:9:8. One continues the sequence with the perfect fourth between A and D:

D	8	3	24
C	9		27
B			
A		4	32
Γ	12		36

One finishes the sequence with the tone between A and B (9:8):⁴³

D	24		216
C	27		243
B		8	256
A	32	9	288
Γ	36		324

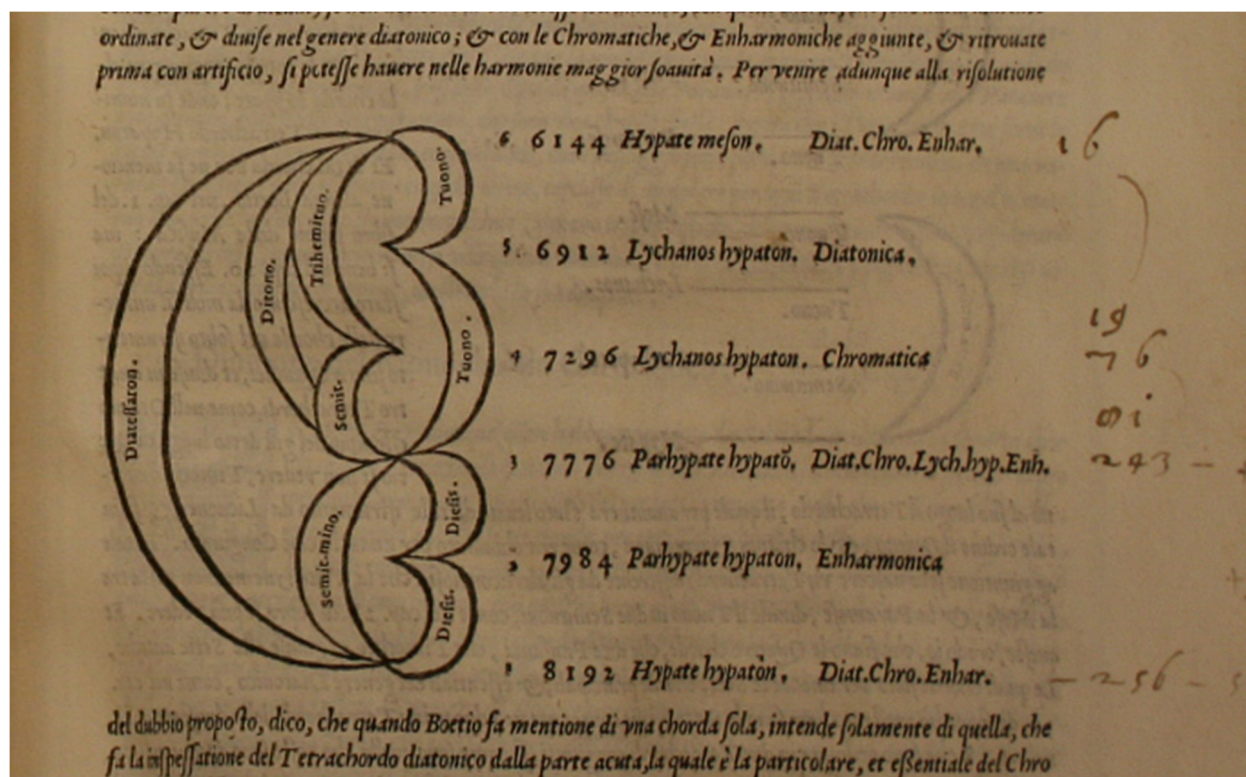
This method produces immediately the smallest common terms. By and large, however, readers filled in the diapente moving upward by pitch, which required reducing the terms to those given above (in this case, dividing each term by three):

D					2	648
C				3	243	729
B		8	64		256	768
A	8	9	72		288	864
Γ	9		81	4	324	972

These are only the first five notes of the twenty-two standard ones; to proceed in similar fashion through the entire gamut required the outermost terms of 10,368 (Γ) and 1,536 (ee)—which challenged the arithmetical skills of most readers, especially when it required reducing to lowest terms. Figure 4.4 provides a representative example of one anonymous reader's attempts to make sense of this seemingly arbitrary integer sequence. Another kind of textual working-out common

⁴³ Although the proportion with the smallest integers, technically speaking, would be the Ptolemaic ditone ($5:4 = 1.25$) between Γ and B, most theorists took at this point the tone (9:8) between A and B. The reason for this is that it created equal-sized tones between Γ and A, A and B, C and D, D and E, and F and G, which in turn also created the slightly larger Pythagorean ditone ($81:64 = 1.265625$) between Γ and B.

Figure 4.4. Anonymous manuscript annotations to the Guidonian integer sequence. In Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: s.n., 1558), 109. US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .Z35 case.



in books about music is the addition of solmization syllables to musical examples, discussed below.

These kinds of textual marks—marks of agreement, emphasis, clarification, interrogation, correction, and expansion—serve many different, and sometimes overlapping functions for their writers. The most salient function, and one that pervades most kinds of reader marks, is that of memory aid. One of the drawbacks of the medium of print was that it eliminated the need to labor after knowledge—that is, to struggle with unfamiliar handwriting, to transcribe painstakingly an entire manuscript, or to hunt through libraries, archives, and scriptoria in search of a particular work. Copying and working out passages in a printed text enabled comprehension by slowing the pace of textual digestion. It also encouraged retention by involving different

modes of sensory engagement. Books about music witness the resurgence of the ancient notion of reinforcing knowledge through the various senses during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁴⁴ One edition of the collected works of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1510) concludes with a full-page woodcut illustration of the “active scholar” (“studiosus palestrites,” figure 4.5).⁴⁵ The illustration suggests that the faculty of imagination, represented as stars in the scholar's head, results from connections between the sensory organs. The ears and the mouth facilitate the ability to hear and to speak; the eyes and the hand facilitate the ability to read and to write. The woodcut illustrates the reinforcement of knowledge through the pairing of receptive (hearing and reading) and productive (speaking and writing) modes of sensory engagement, modes in which stimuli respectively enter and exit the body. The dual presence of the quill and book in the hands of the scholar provides further confirmation of the importance of writing in one's books during the Renaissance as a tool for mastery of content.

In spite of these ennobling ideals, books about music also lived mundane lives as material objects. Books preserve traces of their everyday existence—worn bindings, torn-out page corners, damage from exposure to light, water, and pests. Some readers engaged their books in trivial, inane ways, such as coloring in illustrations and doodling (figure 4.6). Owners even used books in ways unintended by their makers. A copy of Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) at US-Wcm (shelfmark shelfmark ML171 .G12) provides an especially rich case-in-point. Alongside extensive annotations pertaining to music

⁴⁴ Roodenburg, *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*.

⁴⁵ The woodcut appeared earlier in a treatise on the senses in Charles de Bovelles, *Que hoc volumine continentur...liber de sensu* (1510), f. 60v. The rendering of “studiosus palestrites” as “active scholar” fails to account for the rich layers of meaning in *palestrites*, which refers both to the subject of rhetoric and to gymnastic activity. The *palaestra* was an ancient Greek academy that included various exercise facilities, cloisters, and spacious rooms filled with “seats where philosophers, teachers of rhetoric and other studios persons can sit and discuss.” Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 1:309.

Figure 4.5. Portrait of the “active scholar.” In Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples, *In hoc libro contenta...* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1510), sig. F8v.

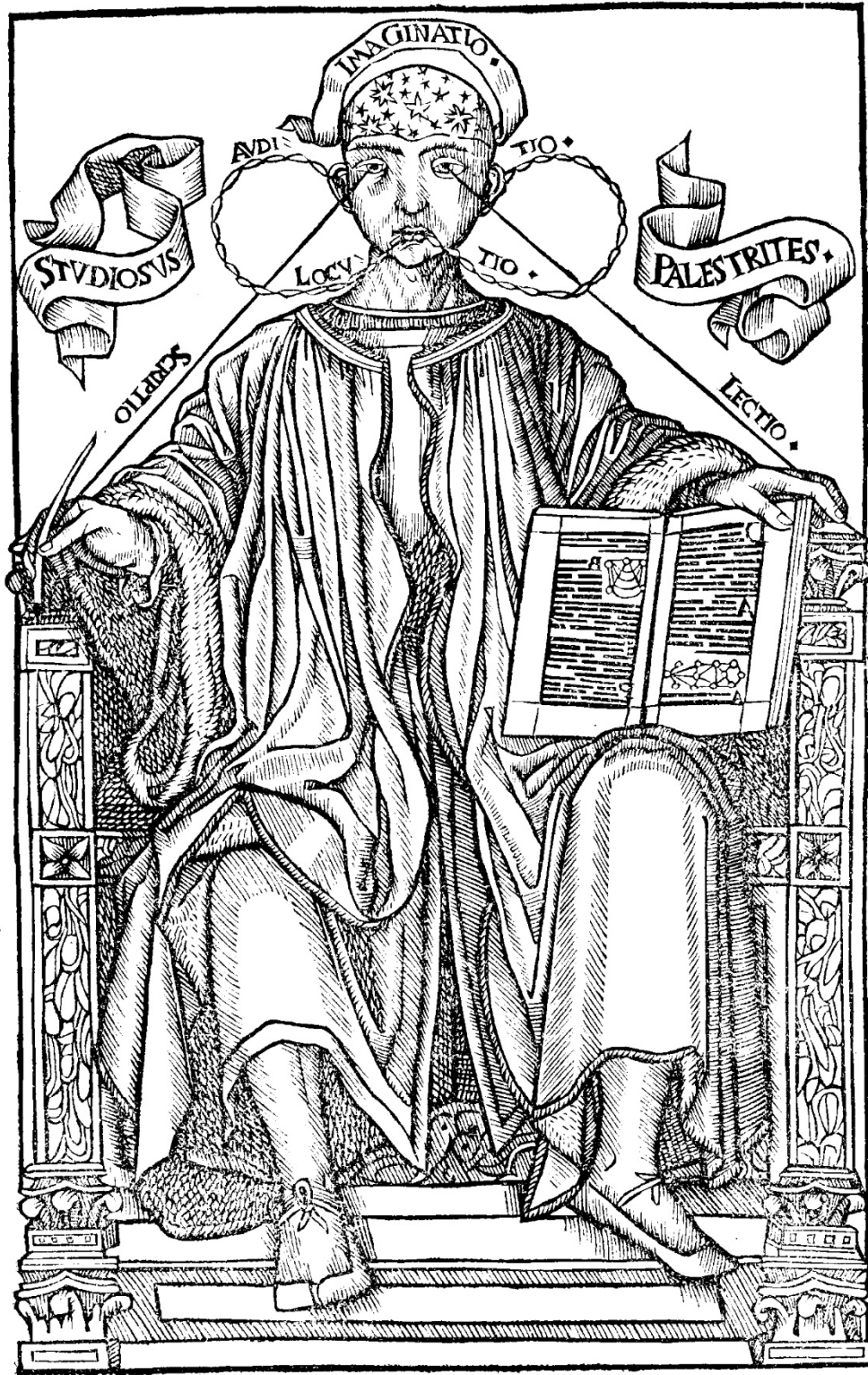
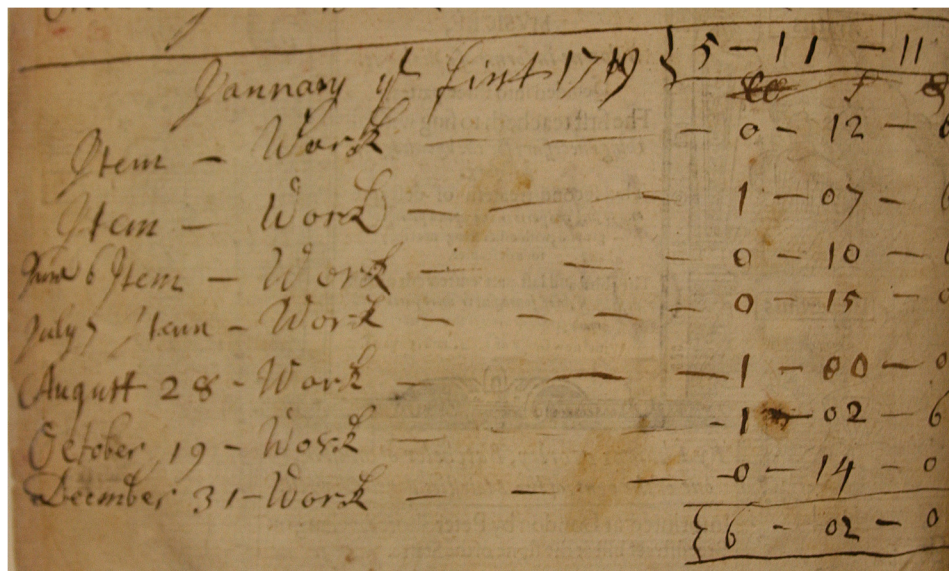


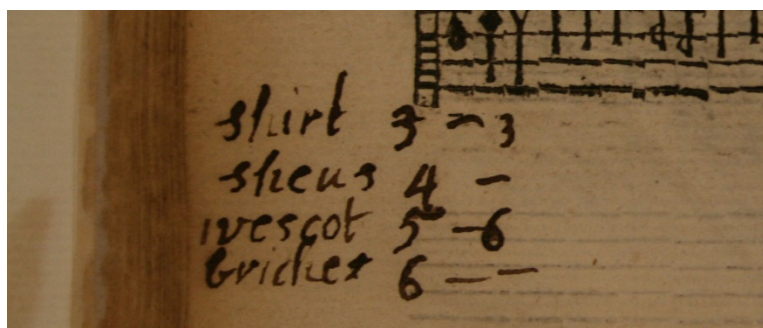
Figure 4.6. Anonymous hand coloration and unfinished drawing of a centaur. In Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Milan: Giovanni Pietro da Lomazzo for Guillaume Le Signerre, 1946), sig. A1r and Ll6v. US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .G12.



Figure 4.7. Traces of unintended uses in Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), sig. A1v (excerpt of a full-page daily ledger), p. 44 (shopping list with prices), and p. 163 (squished house fly). US-Wcm, shelfmark MT6 .A2 M84.



Jannary y ^e first 1597		5	11	11
Item	Worke	0	12	6
Item	Worke	1	07	6
Item	Worke	0	10	6
Item	Worke	0	15	0
August 28	Worke	1	00	0
October 19	Worke	1	02	6
December 31	Worke	0	14	0
		6	02	0



shirt	3	3
shewes	4	-
wescot	5	6
bricket	6	-



part.
ught a musician r
compositions vn

are a daily ledger and shopping list (both in an eighteenth-century hand), and the squished remnants of a house fly (figure 4.7). These surprising traces of use are a vivid reminder that books—then and now—languish on shelves, hide underneath piles on desks, and serve as scratch paper just as often as they engage the imaginations of their readers.

Musical marks

Music was a difficult, multifaceted subject to learn, involving at once the study of many different specialized topics—terminology, arithmetic, history, philosophy, and foreign languages. The biggest challenge most readers faced was learning to read, write, and perform from musical notation; this is a commonplace in the scholarship on musical literacy during the Renaissance.⁴⁶ Readers of books about music used a wide range of marks that demonstrate the learning processes they employed to acquire these skills.

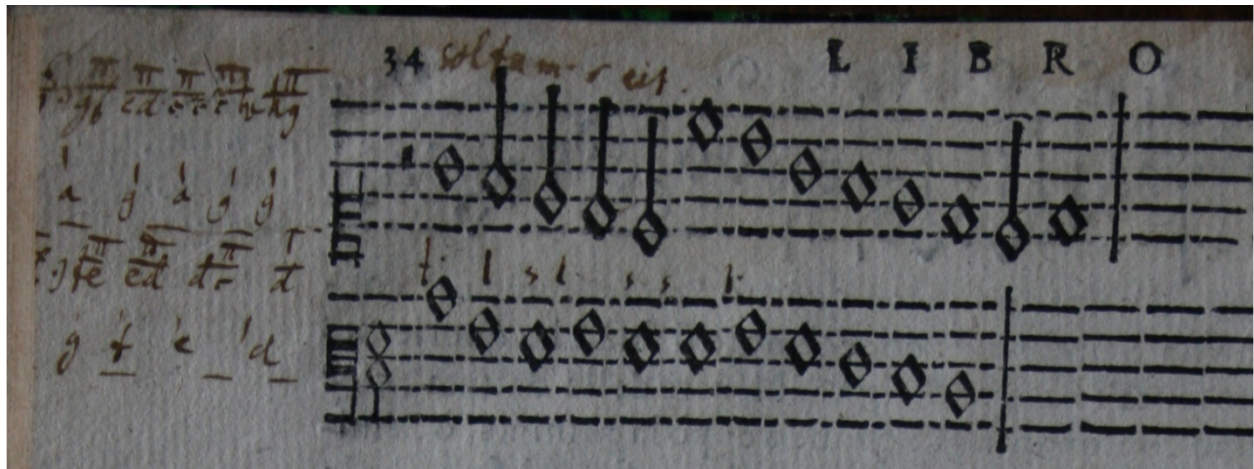
Many readers of books about music added solmization syllables to musical examples. Basic instruction during the Renaissance relied on a centuries-old system developed around the year 1000 by Guido of Arezzo. Jane Daphne Hatter has argued that Renaissance compositional practice continued to invoke the hexachord both practically and symbolically.⁴⁷ Stefano Mengozzi has noted the near-universal anxiety of students created by the application of overlapping hexachords to real, polyphonic music in a cyclic system of seven pitches.⁴⁸ The addition of solmization syllables demonstrates readers' efforts to approach musical examples from a practical perspective. It further indicates genuine engagement with broader didactic

⁴⁶ Owens, *Composers at Work*, 3–7 presents a useful overview of this literature.

⁴⁷ Hatter, "Musica," 135–225. I am grateful to Dr. Hatter for sharing her excellent work with me.

⁴⁸ Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 155. See also Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, 20–54.

Figure 4.8. Solmization syllables and organ tablature added to a musical example. In Oratio Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1602), 34. I-Vc, shelfmark Fondo Torrefranca S.A I V 58.



purposes, a first step toward understanding the theoretical principles underlying a particular musical example. An individual reader's addition of solmization syllables seems to correlate inversely to their skill as a musician; students add in more syllables than professionals. The sheer quantity of solmization syllables added by readers to their books about music, especially to singing primers for beginners, suggests their value for the study of music pedagogy during the Renaissance. One example is particularly significant, encountered in a copy of Oratio Tigrini's *Il compendio della musica* (1602), which contains examples that are solmized, then transcribed into organ tablature in the margin nearby (figure 4.8). This book's annotations place its reader in a specific physical location and social context, alone at the organ bench. I would emphasize that such annotations remind us that the study of music occurred in many different physical spaces and social contexts, from the noisy rote memorization in the classroom, to private contemplation in the carrel, or intense engagement in the studio.

The introduction of bar lines solved one problem of studying examples of polyphonic music, the need to track parts that proceed at different paces. David Greer has shown that bar lines were the most common musical mark added by readers to books of music printed in

Figure 4.9. Bar lines added to a musical example. In Oratio Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1602), 33. I-Vc, shelfmark Fondo Torrefranca S.A I V 58.



England during the Renaissance.⁴⁹ This was necessary in almost every notational format, including variations of score format (figure 4.9). The problem was compounded in choirbook format, in which parts are separated by substantial vertical space. Cristle Collins Judd has drawn attention to one instance in which bar lines were not enough to help a reader of Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) to spot congruent moments in two parts, necessitating the addition of alphabetical labels or rehearsal marks.⁵⁰ Occasionally readers introduced the *signum congruentiae* (sign of congruence) in multiple parts to indicate corresponding moments; early on, printers added them to musical examples for the convenience of readers (see figure 3.5). To judge from the relative frequency of bar lines added by readers (in about twenty percent of the annotated exemplars I have examined), many attempted to perform

⁴⁹ Greer, *Manuscript Additions*, 25.

⁵⁰ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 9. Ibid. nonetheless argues that “the relative infrequency of such annotations in surviving sources suggests that earlier in the century such a reading together of disparate parts was a skill assumed on the part of at least some readers and writers of treatises.” I concur that reading from separate parts was possible and expected, although my research indicates that reader annotations are far more common than Judd allows. Many readers used a range of annotative techniques, including bar lines, to read musical notation from separate parts (see below, under “Textual function.”) For a similar instance of early-modern alphabetic rehearsal marks in the context of a primer on lute intabulation, see Owens, *Composers at Work*, 53 (plate 3.7).

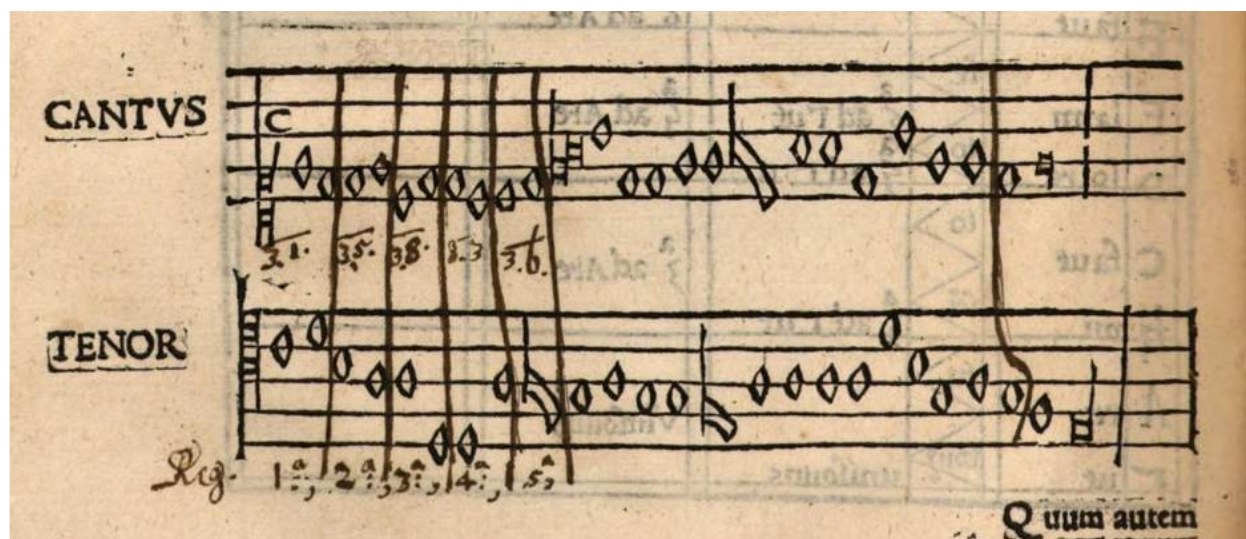
the musical examples in books about music in an effort to understand and analyze them.

Although performances by small vocal ensembles were possible, it seems likely that most efforts were at the lute or organ. This raises the question of how these examples were read for comprehension; the subject of silent reading of musical notation is discussed below.

Another analytic technique widely used by readers was the addition of numerals between staves to indicate intervallic sequences. The reckoning of vertical intervals was central to the study of counterpoint, whether in note-against-note progressions or more florid styles. Writing out numerals between staves served various purposes. On a fundamental level, it gave readers a chance to practice different, overlapping skills—reading pitches in different clefs, tracking different locations simultaneously, calculating intervals between pitches—in a nonthreatening, rudimentary context. On a higher level, writing out intervals allowed readers to understand, assess, and try out the contrapuntal precepts described in the text. The practice of writing out intervals likewise instilled into the minds of would-be contrapuntists the balancing and interweaving of melodic (horizontal) and harmonic (vertical) modes of musical thought. The markings in a copy of Franchinus Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* (1502) exemplify this critical mode of thought (figure 4.10). The annotator, an unknown member of the Monastery of San Zeno in Bavaria, has barred the example to rein in the different parts; added numerals between the staves represent the intervals; and added numerals below the staves to indicate the contrapuntal rules that each bar illustrates. This reader's thorough analysis of the musical example reflects the profound lengths to which readers went to achieve mastery over their books.

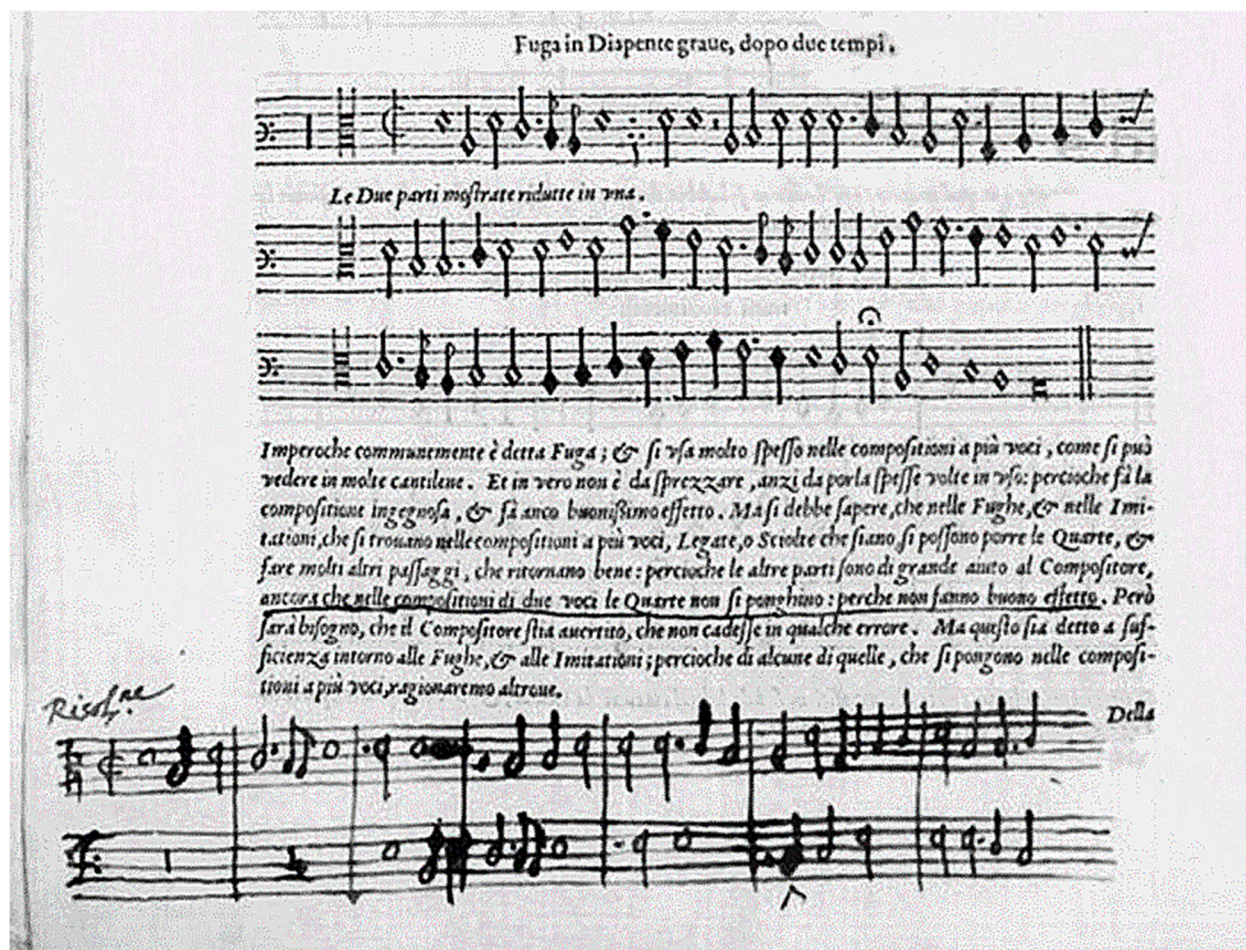
Yet mastery eluded many readers. The margins of many books about music preserve traces of their readers' struggles. Most often, these annotations take the form of rewriting musical passages. Many factors contributed to reader confusion with musical examples. Notation

Figure 4.10. Numerals between staves and bar lines added to a musical example. In Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Brescia: Bernardino Misinta for Angelo Britannico, 1502), sig. D6v. D-Mbs, shelfmark 2° Mus. th. 194. Numerals below the staff indicate the contrapuntal rules demonstrated in those bars.



was the most significant; the inconsistent application of notational formats (score, separate parts, and numerous varieties in between) challenged the skills of readers, especially in individual sources. In mensural notation, notes were not spaced in proportion to their durations; that is, a breve, semibreve, minim, and semiminim all took up roughly the same amount of horizontal space on the page. Thus, the pace at which readers followed individual parts was constantly in flux, which made it very difficult to assess the flow of musical time in multiple parts. This was true of every notational format, even score format—figure 4.9 shows a typical example of the horizontal skewing encountered in early-modern scores. The physical distance between separately-notated parts posed further challenges to readers. I argue below that reading music silently from separate parts was possible to learn with practice, although the nature of the comprehension derived in this way defies current notions of musical literacy. Readers rewrote musical examples to minimize these challenges, often using score format, proportionally-spaced notation, or instrumental tablature. This was true also of canons, conceptually-complex, but

Figure 4.11. A canon rewritten in barred score format. In Ercole Bottrigari's copy of Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: s.n., 1558), 220. I-Bc, shelfmark C.39a.



notationally-elegant musical examples. The conceptual wrinkle of reading a canon was that one must track two or more locations simultaneously on the same musical part (as opposed different locations on different musical parts). Even professionals struggled with this skill. The copy of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* belonging to the Bolognese music theorist Ercole Bottrigari contains several canons rewritten in the margins using barred score format (figure 4.11). Such instances of rewritten musical examples point up the complexities of mensural notation that largely have been ignored by modern scholars of musical literacy during the Renaissance.

Books about music provided their writers with a convenient medium for jotting down musical ideas. Although this use was unintended by the book's makers, it was fitting

nonetheless, given that such books inspired the imaginations of their readers. Often these jottings provide clues into the provenance of the exemplar. For example, the copy of Illuminato Aiguino da Brescia's *La illuminata de tutti i tuoni di canto fermo* (1562) at US-Cn (shelfmark Vault Case 4A 2102) contains several layers of rich annotation by a single reader. The only direct evidence of the reader's identity is the cryptic monogram "FGV" written on the title page. The annotations, however, make repeated reference to the city of Padua and musicians working there at the Basilica Pontificia di Sant'Antonio. Alongside these annotations are newly-composed fragments of chant and a canon written by Costanzo Porta, the most famous musician who worked there. Instances of copied-out musical excerpts show how books about music functioned in diverse contexts, whether in a close-knit community of chapel singers or among the cramped shelves of a scholar's library.

Customizations

One important category of evidence concerning a book's use is the customizations that a reader made to the physical form of the book. The history of reading largely has focused on reader marks in the forms of annotations and marginalia, ignoring this valuable category of bibliographical evidence. It is important to remember that books were sold exactly as they were printed, as unbound, unfolded loose sheets of paper.⁵¹ Even before it could be used, a book needed to be folded, bound, and trimmed. Given this extra outlay of money, readers developed particular preferences for customizing their books. Even purchasers of secondhand copies had them rebound and trimmed. Unfortunately, only about a third of the exemplars I have examined

⁵¹ van Orden, *Materialities*, 44–55.

firsthand retain period bindings and decorations; the majority of extant bindings date from late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the collecting of music books reached its peak.

Binding was the most characteristic form of customization. The subject of bookbinding has been well studied, and surviving copies of books about music tend to follow broader patterns in bookbinding.⁵² Period bindings of books about music ranged all way from simple cardboard or parchment covers to lavishly-decorated leather bindings with elaborate stitching. Endpapers—sheets of paper glued to the inside covers and sewn into or glued to the bookblock—ranged from plain paper to colored or decorated papers. Exceptionally well-heeled readers had book-edges gilt or sprinkled. By and large, however, most readers of books about music used simple, unpretentious bindings—these were not books to display to one’s friends, but books to read and to study.

Bookbinders offered additional services beyond finishing and decorating the assembled book. Many copies of books about music have ribbons sewn into the stitching that date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; these ribbons acted as bookmarks for readers, much like those in bibles, lectionaries, and hymnals today. Many of these ribbons are in poor condition, even detached from the stitching, suggesting heavy use. Although we usually cannot tell into which pages readers placed bookmarks, their presence indicates a particularly intense mode of engagement with that book, a desire to return repeatedly to it.

Another option bookbinders offered clients was interleaved pages. By inserting a blank sheet of paper between each printed sheet, the folded, assembled book would have one or more blank pages facing each printed page, offering additional room for annotations. Blank sheets also could be added to the front or back of the volume, creating what are known as flyleaves.

⁵² For a basic introduction to the subject, see Gaskell, *Introduction*, 146–53.

Interleaved pages and flyleaves are most commonly associated with smaller-format books, especially those used in classroom instruction. A copy of Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum* (1575) at US-Cn (shelfmark Case 3A 737) contains interleaved pages filled with additional notes, including explanations, cross-references other books, and a reading list probably from the 1570s (table 4.1). Like bookmarks, interleaved pages indicate a desire for close, repeated reading—even if, in the end, many of the pages remained blank.

Many readers bound two or more books together. Sometimes this was merely an economic expedience, as binding was a necessary, discrete cost of owning books. Other times, binding books together helped readers to arrange burgeoning collections. Very seldom are books about music bound with non-music books.⁵³ The commonality of subject reflects an instinct to organize and group. Large volumes of books bound together, so-called binder's volumes or tract volumes, are common with oblong quarto partbooks, although practical use in that state seems doubtful; such volumes probably belonged instead to collectors and institutional libraries.⁵⁴ Binder's volumes of books about music are common for octavo-sized instructional books, many of which display evidence of heavy use. Many of these books about music in octavo treat of only a single aspect of music, meaning that they were often combined with other books to round out a student's knowledge of the subject. A binder's volume at US-R that contains sixteen music treatises in octavo provides special insight into classroom instruction (table 4.2). Its owner, Abraham Ursinus, an unknown student at an unidentified Latin school in Germany, preserved all

⁵³ Several binder's volumes in appendix three provide counterexamples of this trend.

⁵⁴ For a selection of binder's volumes containing books of music, see Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 933–50; Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1:123–162 and 2:155–66. For the subject of binder's volumes in general, see Greer, *Manuscript Additions*, 39–49; and van Orden, *Materialities*, 85–88.

Table 4.1. Contemporary reading list in a copy of Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (1575). US-Cn, shelfmark Case 3A 737, interleaved pp. facing sig. A1v and A2r.

Transcription	Translation and commentary
Musici	[Books] about Music
1 Mufica M: Galli Dressleri. Octernij.	1. Gallus Dressler, <i>Musicae practicae elementa in usum scholae magdeburgensis</i> (Magdeburg: Wolfgang Kircher, 1571). The references “Octernii” and “Octerniones” refer to bibliographical format (“in octavo”). A copy of this book owned by the same reader is at US-Cn, shelfmark Case 3A 736.
2 Quæstiones Muficæ Joh: Spangenbergij. Octerniones.	2. Johann Spangenberg, <i>Quaestiones musicae in usum scholae northusianae</i> (many editions, 1536–1584).
3 Erotemata muficæ à Luca Loßio conscripta. Noribergæ MDLXVIII. Oct:	3. Lucas Lossius, <i>Erotemata musicae practicae</i> (Nuremberg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568).
4 Mufica Nicolaj Listenij. Franckofordiae ad Oderam in officina Joh: Eichornij. Oct:	4. Nicolaus Listenius, <i>Musica</i> (Frankfurt: Johann Eichorn, s.d. [c. 1550]).
5 Mufica teutfch durch ambrosius Wilfflingseder. MDLXIX. Oct:	5. Ambrosius Wilfflingseder, <i>Musica teutsch, der Jugend zu gut gestalt</i> (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1569). This entry switches from roman to blackletter script, fitting because this is the only listed book in German.
6 Andrea Ornitoparchi Meyningensis de arte cantandj micrologus libris quatuor digestus. Coloniae apud Joan: Gymnicum Anno M D XXXIII. Octaue longæ. De Compositione Cantionum liber quartus Ornitoparchij præcepta tradit.	6. Andreas Ornitoparchus, <i>De arte cantandi micrologus</i> (Cologne: Johann Gymnich, 1533). The oblong sexto format of this edition is very unusual; it results from sheets being folded three times to form six leaves. Its sizing is somewhere between octavo and quarto, approximately 13.5 × 15 cm. This is a digest of the earlier <i>Musicae activae micrologus</i> (first ed. Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, 1517).
7 Diuus Aurelius Auguftinus Episcopus Muficam scripsit.	7. St. Augustine of Hippo, <i>Musica</i> (many editions, 1491–1609).
8 Enchiridion Muficae à Georgio Rhauo congestum. Witebergæ ex officina hæredum Georgij Rhau MDLIII Oct:	8. Georg Rhau, <i>Enchiridion utriusque musicae practicae</i> (Wittenberg: heirs of Georg Rhau, 1553).
9 Libellus de Compositione Cantus Joan: Galliculj. Witebergæ apud hæredes Georgij Rhau. Anno MDLIII. Oct:	9. Johannes Galliculus, <i>Libellus de compositione cantus</i> (Wittenberg: heirs of Georg Rhau, 1553).

Table 4.2. Contents of the binder's volume belonging to Abraham Ursinus at US-R, shelfmark ML171 .S358I 1591.

No.	Author	Title and Facts of Publication
1.	Snegassio, Cyriaco	<i>Isagoges musicae libri duo</i> (Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1591)
2.	Snegassio, Cyriaco	<i>Nova & exquisita monochordi dimensio</i> (Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1590)
3.	Dedekind, Henning	<i>Praecursor metricus musicae artis</i> (Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1590)
4.	Faber, Heinrich	<i>Musicae compendium latino germanicum</i> , ed. Melchior Vulpius (Jena: Johann Weidner and Heinrich Birnstiel, 1608)
5.	Gesius, Bartolomeus	<i>Synopsis doctrinae musicae</i> (Frankfurt an der Oder: Johann Eichorn, 1606)
6.	Demantius, Christoph	<i>Isagoge artis musicae</i> (Nuremberg: Valentin Fuhrmann, 1607)
7.	Teucher, David	<i>De musica</i> (Breslau: Georg Baumann, 1590)
8.	Faber, Heinrich	<i>Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus</i> (Breslau: Georg Baumann, 1608)
9.	Anon. [Willich, Jodocus]	<i>Brevis introductio in artem musicam pro schola vesaliensi collecta & methodicè disposita</i> (Wesel: Joannes Puidt, 1603)
10.	Quitschreiber, Georg	<i>Musicbuchlein für die Jugend in deutschen und lateinischen Schulen zu gebrauchen</i> (Leipzig: Johann Börner, 1607)
11.	Faber, Heinrich	<i>Musica: Kurtze und einfeltige Anleitung der Singkunst</i> , ed. Johann Colhardt (Leipzig: Johann Rose, 1605)
12.	Beringer, Maternus	<i>Musica: das ist die Singkunst der lieben Jugend</i> (Nuremberg: Valentin Fuhrmann, 1605)
13.	Wilfflingseder, Ambrosius	<i>Musica teutsch, der Jugendt zu gut gestellt</i> (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1539)
14.	Machold, Johann	<i>Compendium germanicolatinum musices practicae</i> (Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1596)
15.	Orgosino, Heinrich	<i>Musica nova qua tam facilis ostenditur canendi scientia</i> (Leipzig: s.n., 1603)
16.	Agricola, Martin	<i>Deutsche Musica und Gesangbüchlin</i> , ed. Wolfgang Figulum (s.l. [Nuremberg]: s.n. [Johann von Berg and Ulrich Neuber], 1563)

of the books about music used during his schooling and bound them together, presenting an extraordinarily detailed picture of music instruction during the Renaissance.⁵⁵

Silent reading and musical examples

It remains an open scholarly question how Renaissance readers approached the act of reading musical notation. Indeed, the word “read” itself needs redefinition, as musical texts are different in nature than alphabetic ones.⁵⁶ Alphabetic texts may be understood by fully literate readers without reference to sound, permitting silent reading and comprehension.⁵⁷ Musical texts traditionally are viewed as scripts for performance, symbolic mediators between the eyes, ears, and minds of composers and listeners, which are devoid of meaning in and of themselves outside the context of sounded performance.⁵⁸ Indeed, marks left behind in books about music indicate that some readers understood the didactic functions of musical examples only through performing them vocally or instrumentally.

There are, nonetheless, many heavily-used copies of these sources that contain no annotations to their musical examples. The evidence of their particular uses indicates that their

⁵⁵ Livingstone, “The Theory and Practice” remains the only treatment of this valuable source.

⁵⁶ van Orden, *Materialities*, 117–31; and Whittaker, “Musical Exemplarity,” 17–34.

⁵⁷ Iser, *The Act of Reading*; Iser, “The Reading Process”; Manguel, *A History of Reading*; and Saenger, *Space Between Words*.

⁵⁸ Apel, “The Importance of Notation,” 117: “Considering the fact, for example, that our present system of notation has served the purpose of Monteverdi as well as that of Bach, Beethoven and contemporary composers, how can one expect it to be anything but an irrelevant expedient, a casual and superficial method?” Bent et al., “Notation,” §II.1 reduces musical notation to “an assemblage of ‘signs’...that forms an analogue with the system of musical sound.” Boorman, “Early Music Printing,” 222 makes the most specific (and most often quoted) statement about the nature of musical notation during the Renaissance: “The arrangement of printed volumes of polyphony in partbook format means that titles were useless to anyone except a complete set of performers. The act of silently studying the music from such books was, if not impossible, very tedious. Until the appearance of these volumes in score, one cannot say that there was a reading public for musical printing but only a using public.” Newcomb, “Notions of Notation” offers a useful critique of these approaches to the nature of musical notation around the year 1600.

readers did derive meaning from musical notation without recourse to sound. I take this as a suggestion that it was possible to read and comprehend musical notation silently during the Renaissance.⁵⁹ This kind of non-performative musical literacy has a number of important differences from the kinds of musical reading that scholars have considered previously. In this section, I explore the nature of this difference between silent and performative musical literacies by positing four contrasting functions that musical examples play in the context of silent reading. These functions offer new ways for understanding the material and intellectual contexts in which these examples appear and the kinds of meaning that readers could derive from them. I do not understand these functions to be the only possible ones; the same musical example can be read in different ways by different readers, and even by a single reader. The possible readings of a musical example depend on the competencies and motivations of each reader,

Following the work of Adam Whittaker, I contend that the context of silent reading offers a advantageous approach to the subject of musical exemplarity—the qualities of a musical work that make it optimal for demonstrating something—that is firmly grounded in aesthetic reader response, rather than artistic or poietic literary creation.⁶⁰ That is, my interest here is the dialectical relationship between the ways that authors constructed musical examples and the ways that readers approached them. Furthermore, I seek to decenter the role of sound in scholarly conceptions of musical literacy; in this respect, I proceed from the suggestion of Cristle

⁵⁹ In the relevant secondary literature, this ability occasionally is referred to as “silent hearing.” I am not concerned here with whether musical audiation was possible for readers, as this is a question more anthropological in orientation than historical. Rather, I take as my subject the silent reading of musical examples, because I am interested in the ways that readers approached musical notation without reference to sound in any form—assessing and reckoning the size and appropriateness of interval successions, judging the well-formedness of musical lines and combinations of them, and so forth.

⁶⁰ For the artistic–aesthetic binary as it pertains to reading, see Iser, *The Act of Reading*. For exemplarity in general, see Gelley, *Unruly Examples*. For musical exemplarity, see Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*. Nattiez, *Music and Discourse*, 17 provides a useful conceptualization of poietic and aesthetic approaches: (poietic process) Producer → Trace ← Receiver (aesthetic process).

Collins Judd that “there are times when notation serves a purely iconic function—we are meant to *see* notation, but not hear it.”⁶¹ I also consider more broadly other kinds of meaning that musical notation can adopt on the page and in the mind. The musical examples in Nicola Vicentino’s *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), one of the most notationally-complex books about music published during the sixteenth-century, provide fertile ground for analyzing these issues.

Iconic function

In the context of silently-read Renaissance books about music, the iconic function is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of a musical example. In this sense, a musical example served only as a representative symbol or token of the concept being discussed. At the very least, a caption, legend, or prose introduction to the example was all a reader needed to understand what the example was supposed to represent. Its actual content was irrelevant; a reader could take it on faith that what was in the example actually corresponded to the example’s stated purpose and to its text’s larger theoretical agenda. In this reading, the very presence of a musical example served as a good-faith gesture on the part of the author that their theoretical concepts were valid and consistent—skepticism notwithstanding, of course.

Musical examples always retained a baseline iconic function, even after being performed or read by a reader. Once the didactic purpose of an example—for example, demonstrating the qualities of a particular mode or good and bad interval progressions—was comprehended, by whatever means, that example no longer needed to be read again.⁶² Its purpose was understood,

⁶¹ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 8 (emphasis in original).

⁶² Ibid. makes a similar point: “At other times, the notation serves as a generalized reminder of music as sounding phenomenon.”

its inner complexities comprehended. The musical example then served only as a visual reminder of the concepts it embodied. Of course, a reader could reread the example for pleasure or in case of memory lapse. But in the context of a single, continuous reading of a text, once an example's exemplarity, its broader reason for existence, was deciphered, its function was reduced to the iconic level, serving as a representative sign of its purpose.

The iconic function explains many puzzling musical examples in books about music. Consider, for example, Nicola Vicentino's eighteen-page, systematic presentation of every possible scale in every possible key at the end of the fifth book of *L'antica musica* (fol. 134v–143r). It seems unlikely that many readers took the time to read these pages in detail; more likely, readers examined a few of the scales or skimmed a few pages, understood the example's broader purpose, and then skipped to the next section. In such a reading, the musical example, by its very presence alone, endows the author with credibility and authority through its iconic function.

This also explains musical examples that cannot be read directly or immediately from the notation on the page. Consider, for example, Vicentino's four-voice motet "Musica prisca caput," which is notated in *L'antica musica* over three pages, with the cantus, altus, and tenor voices appearing on one opening (fol. 69v–70r), and the bass voice appearing after a page turn (fol. 70v). It perhaps was possible for an advanced reader to make sense of the top three voices, but the page turn required to access the fourth voice meant that the full four-voice texture could not be apprehended visually. In fact, it was impossible even to perform the motet from in this physical manifestation; to do so would require a second copy of the book or transcription into another source. As I will show, such notational conundrums support other functional interpretations. But it is true that only needed to read the motet's introductory phrase ("now the

abovementioned example of the differences between the three kinds of music is notated presently”) to understand what the example was meant to illustrate without comprehending its musical content.⁶³

From a modern perspective, the use of illustrative material merely as a visual token of an explanandum seems strange. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein has shown that this was common in Renaissance books; many authors and printers used and reused illustrative materials simply to denote a particular topic rather than to embody the topic being discussed.⁶⁴ For example, the *Liber chronicarum* (1493) uses the same stereotyped image of the walled medieval village to represent both Mantua and Verona.⁶⁵ The images are not meant to represent or to illustrate these towns specifically, merely to direct readers’ attentions generally to discussions of geography. The images are iconic rather than illustrative. The iconic function allows musical examples to operate in a capacity beyond their discursive and didactic purposes—completely aside from their content, they signify credibility and topicality for both author and reader.

Copy-text function

Musical examples also represent intermediate stages in a process of handwritten transmission. In other words, the notation on the page was a sort of visual code that needed to be decoded visually or translated before it could be comprehended through silent reading. Although some readers certainly had the ability to comprehend polyphony presented in separate parts, clearly this was not the most pedagogically-effective method for understanding the inner workings of

⁶³ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 218 (adapted). “hora il su detto essemplio con la diversità di tre ordini di Musica qui presente è notato.” Vicentino, *L’antica musica* (1555), fol. 69v.

⁶⁴ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 85–86.

⁶⁵ *Liber chronicarum* (1493), fol. 68r (Verona) and 84v (Mantua). For side-by-side illustrations, see Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, 67.

counterpoint. Scores, short scores, ten-line staves, and the like were better suited to theoretical instruction, yet were difficult and expensive to produce.⁶⁶ I suggest that authors and printers employed various kinds of notation in separate parts—notational formats that in some ways obscure musical content and meaning—with the understanding that less advanced readers would not attempt to read them without first copying them into an easier-to-read format.⁶⁷ These musical examples thus function not as texts-proper, but as copy-texts, the meanings of which cannot be understood directly by reading, but which require translation into another textual form.

The extra labor involved in reading musical examples this way forces the reader to engage actively with the text. In contrast to the iconic function—in which meaning is derived without regard to content—the copy-text function requires initiative and perseverance to engage with musical ideas; this is not to mention the need for an expensive writing medium, be it paper, parchment, or an erasable tablet. The act of translating one notational format into another has the effect of completing a lap through the communications circuit: a musical idea begins in the mind of the author; the author translates this into one visual form (a manuscript); the printer encodes the first form into another (the print); the reader decodes this into the original form (another manuscript); and in the process the musical idea becomes engrafted onto the mind of the reader. But this was a dangerous game of telephone, and printers' errors proved a formidable challenge to authors and readers. The increasing lengths of errata lists and prolific reader corrections in books about music amply attest this problem. The extensive correspondence between music

⁶⁶ Lowinsky, "On the Use of Scores"; and Lowinsky "Early Scores in Manuscript."

⁶⁷ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 155 makes a similar point about the earliest publications of Ottaviano Petrucci: "All three [*Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (1501), *Canti B* (1502), and *Canti C* (1504)] are in choir-book form, like most of Petrucci's later prints of secular part-music. His aim was evidently to offer 'raw material,' from which copies for specific performance requirements could be derived. He printed sacred music in part-book form, however, for direct practical use."

theorists Giovanni Spataro, Giovanni Del Lago, and Pietro Aaron—rife with complaints about printers further confirm this basic problem of transmitting music through layers of mediation.⁶⁸

The copy-text function of such musical examples forces readers into what has been called “intensive reading,” the act of studying single texts with focus on complete mastery and absorption.⁶⁹ The copy-text function easily facilitated the contemplation and internalization so desired by authors. Readers’ marks of confusion and frustration also demonstrate that this turned off more than a few readers. Those readers who paid attention and did the work were rewarded with a kind of ownership not typically associated with so cheap a medium as print. Obscure notational formats not only intermediated authors’ manuscripts and readers’ handwritten notes, but also mitigated against the immediacy of printed knowledge. Many music treatises highlight the difficulty of their subject matter; Vicentino’s, for example, opens with a large woodcut illustration of the author, which promotes the image of the “secret and uncertain knowledge” exposed by the book.⁷⁰ As the Venetian scribe Filippo de Strata put it, “The pen is a virgin, printing a whore.”⁷¹ By slowing down the reading process, the copy-text function drew readers more intimately into an author’s line of reasoning and method of presentation.

The copy-text function explains some of the more bizarre notational choices in Renaissance music-theory texts. Examples that require page turns to see all the parts present no problems from this perspective; they need not be used directly for comprehension. Vicentino’s examples of acceptable uses of the imperfect fifth (the tritone) provides an instructive case in

⁶⁸ Blackburn et al., *Correspondence*; and Blackburn, “Publishing Music Theory.”

⁶⁹ For intensive and extensive modes of reading, see Cavallo and Chartier, *A History of Reading in the West*, 24–28.

⁷⁰ “incerta et occulta scientiae.” Vicentino, *L’antica musica* (1555), sig. A1v.

⁷¹ “Est virgo haec penna, meretrix est stampificata.” Strata, *Polemic Against Printing*, n.p. The longer passage in which this appears is quoted in chapter one.

point (figure 4.12). Vicentino gives ten melodic fragments, each lasting three semibreves and labeled with a voice type (alto, tenor, or bass). The legends “à due voci,” “à tre voci,” and “à quattro” indicate how the examples are delimited and constructed by combinations of these fragments. The two-voice examples are easiest to discern (figure 4.13a). The corresponding legend appears nearest the first five fragments; solutions may be created from any combination of successive fragments (i.e., 1+2, 2+3, 3+4, or 4+5). There are three solutions for three voices (figure 4.13b). The first three-voice legend indicates one solution (fragments 5+6+10); the second such legend indicates two further solutions (fragments 7+8+9 and 8+9+10). The four-voice solution is problematic (figure 4.13c); from every possible four-part combination of these fragments, a number of solutions emerge, none without a significant counterpoint error. The best of these solutions, incidentally those that involve the fragments nearest the legend, create either parallel octaves (fragments 6+8+9+10 and 5+6+9+10) or illegal simultaneities (fragments 7+8+9+10). In this situation, the notation in separate parts and the obscurity of the legends draw readers in and forces them to grapple with theoretical issues and to make critical judgments—even if an individual reader did not need to rewrite the solutions. An uncharitable interpretation of this particular example is that Vicentino and his printer, Antonio Barrè, sloppily planned and executed the example. But such an interpretation fails to recognize that the examples engaged readers in ways that more straightforward and better notated examples do not. The algorithmic process of trial-and-error invited readers into the author’s mindset and rationale.

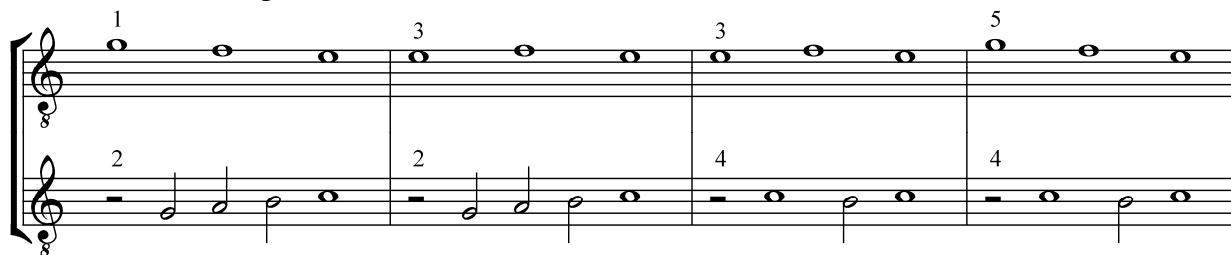
In the iconic and copy-text functions, what appears on the page is not meant to be comprehended directly. Examples with an iconic function serve as a visual token of a topic rather than an illustration of its substance; examples with a copy-text function serve as an intermediary

Figure 4.12. Nicola Vicentino's examples of the imperfect fifth. In *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555), fol. 32r.



Figure 4.13. Possible solutions to figure 4.12. Plain numerals correspond to the melodic fragments in figure 4.12; parenthetical numerals represent harmonic intervals, intended to highlight contrapuntal errors. Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 102 omits the four-voice examples entirely.

(a) Two-voice examples.



(b) Three-voice examples.

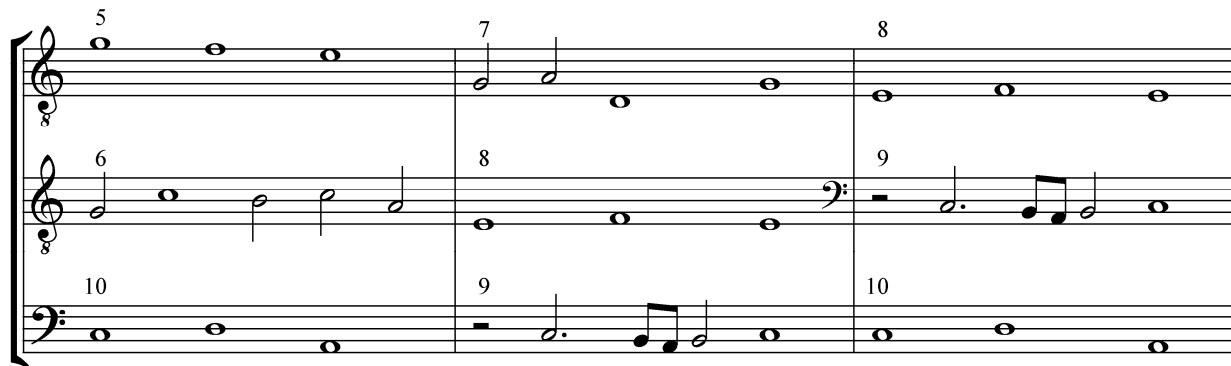


Figure 4.13 (continued).

(c) Four-voice examples.

7 (7) 6 (8) (8) 5

8 8 6 (8) (8)

9 9 9

10 10 10

source, the meaning of which readers derive only through the act of rewriting. The following two functions provide opposing perspectives, functions in which musical examples assume meanings through reading and comprehending notation from their immediate textual forms.

Textual function

On the basis of the marks left behind in books about music, I believe that moderately advanced readers easily could comprehend musical examples in a variety of notational formats featuring separate parts.⁷² This runs counter to received musicological wisdom, which holds that comprehending music from parts was prohibitively difficult for most musicians, much less lay

⁷² Choirbook format—in which each part occupies a separate space on a single two-page opening in one book—is the classic example of notation in separate parts; this is the format of choice in Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547). There is no standard terminology for other kinds of formats in separate parts. Owens, *Composers at Work*, 35 designates as “compact choirbook” when the parts are printed consecutively on a single page or gathering but not in the typical choirbook ordering; and “quasi-score” when each part occupies “a single staff and all are superimposed without barlines or vertical alignment.”

readers.⁷³ My point of departure is the conception of what constitutes a literate reading of musical notation. It seems clear from evidence adduced by scholars that very few musicians could audiate polyphony from separate parts; that is, that musicians could mentally envision the sound of a polyphonic composition without recourse to sound. A familiar if apocryphal story from the German humanist Johann Manlius, based on the accounts of Philip Melanchthon, relates Josquin des Prez's process of proofreading his compositions:

Whenever he had composed a new song, he gave it to the singers to be sung, and meanwhile he walked around, listening attentively whether the concordant sound came together well. If he was dissatisfied, he stepped in: "Be silent," he said, "I will change it!" Not one of us had this ability, but we likewise sing together other previously-composed songs, listening for good or bad harmonies.⁷⁴

Jessie Ann Owens relates similar stories of Adrian Willaert and Giovanthomaso Cimello evaluating compositions not by reading parts, but by listening to performances.⁷⁵ These anecdotes indicate that if the best composers could not imagine the combined sonic effect by looking at separate parts, then very few indeed could.

But audiation sets the bar too high for an understanding of music literacy in general, and what it meant to read polyphony silently in particular. I have already described particular strategies that readers used to parse polyphonic musical examples into manageable bits of

⁷³ Owens, *Composers at Work*, 48: "The ubiquitousness of this format [separate parts] suggests that reading in parts must have been a common skill. Although some scholars have doubted the ability of sixteenth-century musicians to read in parts, there is strong evidence...that they could." Nonetheless, *ibid.*, 55 avers: "In suggesting greater facility for reading or reading/memorizing in parts than has generally been assumed, I do not wish to make the process seem anything but cumbersome. Once a piece was notated in separate parts, it was difficult to catch mistakes without having it sung or checking one voice against another. Perhaps as a result of these difficulties, during the second half of the century musicians began to employ scores to help them study polyphonic music."

⁷⁴ "Quoties novam cantilenam composuerat, dedit eam cantoribus canendam, & interea ipse circumambulabat, attentè audiens, an harmonia congrueret. Si non placeret, ingressus: Tacete, inquit, ego mutabo. Hoc nostrum aliquis non posset imitari: sed nobis iuxta aliorum præscriptum canendum, sive bene sive male harmonia consonet." Manlius, *Locorum communium collectanea* (1562), part 3, p. 93 (i.e., sig. 3F7r). For translations and interpretations of this anecdote, see Osthoff, *Josquin des Prez*, 1:220; Wegman, "And Josquin Laughed," 229–30; and Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," 457.

⁷⁵ Owens, *Composers at Work*, 53–56.

information that could be combined mentally, such as solmization syllables, barring, and interval notation. The mental image that likely resulted from these strategies is more analytic than auditory in nature. Consider a hypothetical homorhythmic musical example presented in separate parts. I believe, based on the annotative strategies outlined above, that sixteenth-century readers fully and quickly could apprehend the intervallic content of each simultaneity in such an example; whether they were able to audiate the sound of each simultaneity and the relationships between them is immaterial. Merely to identify and recognize patterns and structures of intervals in a musical example constitutes a valid, literate, and substantive reading of its content.

Oratio Tigrini concludes the second part of his counterpoint treatise *Il compendio della musica* (1588) with this useful chapter:

Chapter 25: How to examine compositions and rid them of every kind of error. Now that we understand the way that one must follow to compose in three, four, or more voices, it remains only to see the method that one must follow to discover for oneself every kind of error that was committed inadvertently during composition, and to find the parallel fifths, parallel octaves, and other similar mistakes made in it. Therefore, once the composition in four, five, six, or more voices is finished, one takes the canto part and compares it note by note with all the parts, that is, with the alto, with the fifth part, with the tenor, with any other parts, and with the bass. Afterward, one takes the alto part and compares it similarly with the tenor, with any other parts, with the fifth part, and with the bass in the same way that one followed with the soprano. And the same is done, note by note, for the tenor, for any other parts, and for the bass. Thus are found all the errors that were committed inadvertently in it, which one may then easily purge and cut out by observing the abovementioned rules.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ “Modo di rivedere le Compositioni, & emendarle da ogni sorte di errori. Cap. XXV. Hora che s’è inteso il modo, che s’ha da tenere volendosi comporre à tre, à quattro, & a più voci; resta solo, che si vegga l’ordine, che s’ha da tenere volendo ciascuno da se stesso ritrovare ogni sorte d’errore, che per inavertenza fossero stati commessi nella Compositione, & vedere se in essa fussero due Quinte, & altri simili falli. Però, dopò che si sarà fatta la Compositione à quattro, à cinque, à sei, & à più voci, si piglierà la parte del Canto, & à Nota per Nota si raffronterà con tutte le parti, cioè, con l’Alto, con la Quinta parte, co’l Tenore, con uno, ò più, che saranno, & co’l Basso. Di poi si piglierà quella dell’Alto, & si raffronterà similmente co’l Tenor, con uno, ò più che saranno, & con la Quinta parte, & co’l Basso nel medesimo modo, che si sarà fatto quella del Soprano. Et il medesimo si farà del Tenore con gli altri Tenori, & col Basso à Nota per Nota: & così si ritroveranno tutti gli errori, che per inavertenza in essa fussero stati commessi, da i quali si potrà poi commodamente purgarla, & ridurla secondo l’osservanza delle sopradette Regole.” Tigrini, *Compendio* (1588), 51–52.

Tigrini's methodical process suggests one way that sixteenth-century readers silently might have read polyphony by themselves ("da se stesso"). Parsing the texture into pairs of voices lessened the burden of tracking multiple parts simultaneously; a permutative understanding of all the contrapuntal combinations within the full polyphonic texture compensated for any diminished understanding of its sound—in much the same way that Vicentino's reader internalized the rules of permissible imperfect fifths through the process of trial-and-error to find viable examples.

The textual function of musical examples reminds us how the process of reading and the end-product of understanding are linked inextricably. Current scholarly notions of musical literacy during the Renaissance are bound up in the artistic process of composition; the subject is raised typically to shed light on the means by which composers wrote music. As a result, the concept of musical literacy has acquired a prescriptive, poietic valence that ill serves the aesthetic process of reading (not creating) musical notation. That is, the scholarly preoccupation with reading as a conceptual inroad to understanding compositional process has created a one-sided picture of musical literacy. By taking seriously the reading of musical examples as texts-proper, musical literacy takes on a descriptive valence that offers a complementary perspective, that of readers approaching preexisting musical works. This entails a shift in approach, a change in question from asking how to compose, to asking how something was composed. As Howard Mayer Brown has noted, it was never the goal of most books about music to offer comprehensive, thoroughgoing instruction in the art of composition.⁷⁷ Vicentino puts it succinctly:

By working thusly, a composer will learn a thousand other beautiful devices [*fantasie*], because one will lead him to another. One also must note that it is impossible to teach everything that is needed in compositions, for the

⁷⁷ Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage," 9–12: "No treatises on 'free composition,' no books that tell the budding composer precisely how to go about his craft were written so early as the first half of the sixteenth century."

happenstances of composing teach certain things that the student has not considered, nor considers.⁷⁸

Anna Maria Busse Berger has shown that memory was crucial to musical thought in general during the Middle Ages; I argue here that it was crucial as well to the processual aspects of reading Renaissance polyphony.⁷⁹ Tigrini's method for examining compositions required the reader to assemble the larger texture in the mind one pair of voices at a time. Error correction would be impossible without a mental assembly of the piece, because changing one voice affected its relationship to the others. This mental assembly did not need to resemble a score in a modern sense, an image of the parts marching along in aligned, parallel rows. Rather, it gave the reader a sense of the work's global architecture, a scaffolding that allowed the reader to navigate each part anew while trying out local corrections. For readers of musical examples, such a mental recollection emphasized not exclusively harmonic content, but also melodic relatedness of parts—shared melodic content and patterns, points of imitation, cadences, sectional organization, and so forth. Establishing points of comparison or moments of musical likeness lessens the burden of retaining every musical detail in the mind, while building up an image of how the work unfolds.

This point is confirmed by physiological studies of reading musical notation. In a seminal study, nineteenth-century ophthalmologist Émile Javal showed that humans read by alternating

⁷⁸ My translation. "e così il Compositore operando imparerà mille altre belle fantasie, perche si caverà una da l'altra; e si dè avvertire che non si può insegnare il tutto che occorre nel compositioni, perche gl'accidenti nel comporre insegnano certe cose, che lo Studente non ha pensato, ne pensa." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 86v. Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 273: "An experienced composer will learn a thousand other clever devices because one will lead him to another. He will also understand that it is impossible to teach everything that occurs in composition, for the act of composing teaches things that a student cannot imagine."

⁷⁹ Berger, *Medieval Music*, esp. 85–110.

fixations on stimuli with saccades (quick jerking motions of the eyes between fixations).⁸⁰ Subsequent studies have shown that musically-literate readers subconsciously coordinate fixations and saccades in a way that maximizes the capacity of the sensory buffer (the extremely short-term memory that allows the brain to process stimuli).⁸¹ In this sense, literacy means not only the fluent ability to read pitches and rhythms, but also a competent understanding of musical style and syntax. Thus a musically-literate, stylistically-competent reader fixates on one entire syntactic or formal unit of music at a time (a phrase, figure, pattern, mensural unit, etc.), stores it in the sensory buffer, begins to comprehend or execute it, and then fixates on the next musical unit. In contrast, the musically-literate but stylistically-incompetent reader fixates more frequently on smaller pieces of information, using only part of the sensory buffer, and contributing to a less cohesive, literally myopic grasp of the music. (By way of analogy, consider this reading of the previous phrase using un-syntactic fixations: “andcon · tributi · ngtoale · sscohes · ivelite · rallymy · opicgra · spofthe · music.”)

Both readers’ approaches to musical examples and accounts such as Tigrini’s that describe how to read polyphonic compositions taught in effect stylistic competency alongside musical literacy. Barring taught readers to fixate on discrete chunks of musical notation in equal duration, despite unequal visual lengths. Solmization taught readers to comprehend individual lines abstractly.⁸² Interval notation taught readers to internalize combinations of lines. Reading

⁸⁰ Javal, “Essai sur la physiologie de la lecture.” For a recent assessment of scholarship after Javal, see Wade, “Pioneers of Eye Movement Research.”

⁸¹ Goolsby, “Eye Movement in Music Reading”; Slobda, “The Psychology of Reading Music”; and Souter, “Eye Movement, Memory and Tempo.”

⁸² At least in books about music, solmization was taught in the context of short introductions to the hexachords, which emphasized the placement of semitones within melodic interval sequences. Although solmization could suggest to readers a performed, exteriorized mode of reading, it equally suggested a conception of line abstracted into theoretical terms.

methods such as Tigrini's established iterative routines of physiological and cognitive work. These factors communicated stylistic competency while reading polyphonic music by coordinating the physical motions of the eyes. For silent readers, those not performing but studying the music, all of this created in the mind a holographic image of the polyphonic musical example, a conception full of rich, granular detail about the musical surface, but one that was impossible to grasp entirely at once. Although this mental image likely had some sonic elements attached to it, audiation was neither the exclusive goal, nor was it a prerequisite for a literate reading of polyphonic music.

Reading music from parts for the purpose of study seems to have been a skill that required practice, especially given that some writers on music attempted to teach this valuable skill. The complexity of Vicentino's examples compelled him to write out instructions on how to read them; for example, Vicentino provides "a brief and easy guide for learning to read all kinds of notes in every clef."⁸³ In his treatise, many polyphonic examples are homorhythmic, making them considerably easier to understand. Similarly, clusters of shorter examples reuse and recombine material flexibly; both individual musical examples and groups of them are composed to facilitate silent comprehension. Implicit in their manners of composition and presentation are concessions and clues to readers that suggest ways of breaking down mental labor into easier tasks. Not the least of these is the use of barring in short musical examples, a practice common in a wide range of counterpoint treatises. Barring suggested to readers a way of making sense of longer musical examples—as we have seen, a suggestion they picked up on in their annotations.

⁸³ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 412. "hora occorre dare regola facile & breue per imparare à leggere ogni sorte di note in ogni chiaue." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 133v. Other examples at Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 416, 420, 424, and 428; cf. Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), 136r, 138r, 139v, and 141v.

Vicentino himself presents a similar method for detecting contrapuntal errors, perhaps Tigrini's source of inspiration. In it, Vicentino endorses the use of bar lines as method of studying music:

When the pupil wishes to check a composition for six, seven, eight, or more voices, it does no discredit even to a well-experienced person to bar [*partire*] the composition by breves and longs. Checking a composition in this way constitutes a reliable method of correcting mistakes.⁸⁴

Simply because convention dictated that mensural notation be unbarred did not mean that adding bar lines or rewriting the parts in score compromised the reading process, nor did they diminish the quality of comprehension derived therefrom. Barring and scoring were not cheating.

Likewise, the process of checking polyphonic parts in pairs did not form a mental conception of the work that was inferior to or less complete than an audiated one. The textual function of a musical example admitted numerous kinds of silent reading that engage substantively with the didactic purposes of musical examples and the larger discursive contexts in which they appeared.

Digestive function

The musical examples in books about music form a kind of musical compendium that may be understood without reading the surrounding prose. This is the opposite of the iconic function, in which the prose could be understood without reading the intervening musical examples. In the copy-text and textual functions, readers approach musical examples from the context of intensive reading, dwelling on, and internalizing individual examples in an effort to relate them to the larger prose narratives. I propose that that musical contents in books about music also may be considered as compendia to be perused by their readers, largely ignoring the prose text. In this

⁸⁴ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 299 (adapted). “& quando il Discepolo vorrà incontrare una compositione fatta à sei, à sette, à otto, & à più voci, non sarà mal nissuno, ad ogni gran pratico, partire la compositione à brevi, à lunghe, & terrà il modo sopradetto, da rincontrare detta compositione: che sarà sicuro modo di correggere i falli.” Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 88r (some copies wrongly fol. 88r; i.e., sig. Q4r). The word “partire” also may connote rewriting a composition into score format.

interpretation, readers enact on treatises a kind of extensive reading, skimming its pages and gathering and collecting bits from different examples. The musical examples in a treatise thus stand as a synecdoche for the treatise itself, a digest or abridgement of it. Cristle Collins Judd makes a similar observation about Glarean's prolific musical examples: "For many readers, for whom Glarean's Latin might be difficult, if not prohibitive, his instantiations of the modes with notated polyphony provides the means for understanding the text."⁸⁵ Put more strongly, one who read only the musical examples in Glarean's treatise came away with a fairly accurate representation of the content of the prose.

Reading musical examples in this way provides a synoptic interpretation of a treatise that may reinforce or run counter to an author's claims about his book. Title pages were notoriously unreliable for their inflated rhetoric of originality.⁸⁶ In the case of Vicentino's treatise, a digestive, extensive reading of the musical examples bears witness to the book's claim to contain "molti segreti musicali" (sig. A1r). In contrast, the ubiquity of the musical examples in Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* casts doubt on the book's claim to discuss "many passages by poets, historians, and philosophers."⁸⁷ Within books about music, musical examples serve as an index of an author's priorities. At least from a reader's perspective, a heavily or systemically illustrated concept appears to receive authorial priority. The illustrations in Zarlino's *Istitutioni* make clear that he was at heart a practical musician, despite his humanistic and speculative aspirations. This was further confirmed in the 1573 revision of his treatise, which featured new and extended musical examples.

⁸⁵ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 175.

⁸⁶ Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 82 and 242; Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 35–36.

⁸⁷ "molti luoghi di Poeti, Historici, et di Filosofi." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), sig. π1r.

Several Renaissance books about music catered to this predilection for abridgement and curation. An example comes from the two revisions of Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, the *Musicae epitome, sive compendium ex Glareani Dodecachordo* (1557) and the *Uss Glareani Musick ein Usszug* (1557), edited by Glarean and his stepson Johannes Litavicus Wonnegger. Inga Mai Groote has shown that these books functioned as "more popular digests of the *Dodekachordon*."⁸⁸ Aside from their brevity, the most significant departures from the larger volume are language, content, and format. The *Usszug* is in German and the *Epitome* retains the Latin language; both simplify the tone and content of the original. Both treatises reduce the folio size of the original to the much smaller octavo format—letters from Glarean indicate that he hoped the work would spread his ideas into schools, monasteries, and convents; surviving annotations in them indicate they were indeed used in the classroom.⁸⁹ As was befitting the instructional context, a significant number of polyphonic examples were omitted, focusing instead on plainchant, and introducing a handful of singing exercises. The net effect was to highlight the illustrative material and musical examples as the center of focus.

The later sixteenth century saw the proliferation of compendia, printed commonplace books, and popularizing works on serious topics.⁹⁰ Books about music were no exception to this trend, Tigrini's *Compendio* being a notable example. The text presents a compendium of musical examples that illustrate the range contrapuntal topics and issues—one truly could read only the examples to follow the points laid out in the prose. Tigrini's marginal citations to the works of contemporary music theorists indicate that the book itself was a product of extensive reading, a

⁸⁸ Groote, "Studying Music and Arithmetic with Glarean," 203–207 discusses the editing of these volumes.

⁸⁹ Ibid.; and Groote et al., "Evidence for Glarean's Music Lectures."

⁹⁰ The classic study of this subject is Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*. See also Grafton, "The Humanist and the Commonplace Book"; and Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 117–30 and 174–76.

result of Tigrini's skimming through the books he read—or even his notes on them—to find relevant excerpts and examples from different sources. At the same time, the book's compartmentalized approach to musical instruction promotes a detached, distant reading of the text. Shoulder notes and plentiful captions for the musical examples could have allowed readers to follow the sequence of topics easily without engaging the text deeply.

An important byproduct of the digestive function was that many books about music could have assumed the role of a reference work, musical thesaurus, or memory aid. At a certain level, books about music like Tigrini's and Vicentino's aimed to do the heavy lifting for readers by listing every theoretical possibility exhaustively, or by laying out an entire subject schematically. Also belonging to this category is Giovanni Maria Artusi's *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (part one, 1586; part two, 1589), which consists of a series of diagrams "that contain briefly the necessary precepts of this art."⁹¹ It is significant that the works by Tigrini and Artusi are pitched explicitly as digests of another important work, Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche*. The change in literary style from treatise (Zarlino) to compendium (Tigrini) and tabular diagram (Artusi) is accompanied by a reduction in size from folio (Zarlino and Artusi) to quarto (Tigrini). Both books by Artusi and Tigrini translate Zarlino's ideas into a different literary context for different readers. Nor is it coincidental that both works emerged from the printing houses of Vincenti and Amadino, who were associated with Zarlino's publisher of choice, Francesco de' Franceschi Senese (see chapter three). I propose that such works eliminated the need to labor after knowledge, making the complicated subject of music more approachable. In so doing, these

⁹¹ "DEVE BREVEMENTE SI CONTIENE i Precetti à quest' Arte necessarij." Artusi, *L'arte del contaponto* (1586), sig. A1r.

works perpetuate extensive modes of reading and engagement—as reference works, they were less likely to be read closely or intensively, referred to only periodically.

Demonstration

These four functions of musical examples—iconic, copy-text, textual, and digestive—are not the only possibilities. The key element of their application to individual instances of musical notation is that of reader agency. In an important study on the history of reading, Roger Chartier demonstrates that meaning ultimately results from a negotiation between the reader and the text's material form.⁹² These functions of musical examples may lead to blatantly contradictory interpretations. This is fitting, as motivations for and competencies and styles of reading were diverse, resulting in vastly different interpretations of the same text. Meaning may be derived from alternatively reading or ignoring a musical example; meaning alternatively may or may not be derived from the material or notational form of a musical example; musical examples may be read alternatively closely or distantly, intensively for study or extensively for perusal; a notational format may be alternatively a necessary evil or a contemplated choice.

As a demonstration of the benefits of this multivalent way of reading meaning in musical examples, I close this section with an analysis of a single musical example in Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* from the perspective of each of the four functions. The treatise's third book pertaining to music practice presents an overview of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera, a subject thoroughly identified with Vicentino's professional

⁹² Chartier, *Forms and Meaning*, 6–24. Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 35 makes a similar point about a text's language: "The text must...bring about a standpoint from which the reader will be able to view things that would never have come into focus as long as how own habitual dispositions were determining his orientation, and what is more, this standpoint must e able to accommodate all kinds of different readers."

profile.⁹³ One particular musical example, for four textless voices, demonstrates the diatonic genus (figure 4.14, transcribed for convenience in figure 4.15). Like the motet “Musica prisca caput,” the example is spread over two openings, with the soprano voice straddling a page turn. This material constraint makes it impossible to perform or to audiate the full polyphonic texture in this particular format. In terms of its iconic function, this presented no problem: the example did not need to be read in order to derive meaning. The example, by its very presence, was a proof that such a demonstration of the diatonic genus could be offered, a token of what Vicentino claimed the genus represented. The musical example’s meaning derives from the chapter headings and legends to each voice part: “demonstration of diatonic music composed in four parts,” “example of a diatonic soprano part,” “example of a diatonic alto part,” “example of a diatonic tenor part,” “example of a diatonic bass part.”⁹⁴ An important theoretical lesson is gleaned from this information alone—for Vicentino, the genus of a composition resulted from the combined genera of its component voices.

The copy-text function is the most obvious approach to the example, given its material form. Transcription was the only way one could visually apprehend the entire composition. The kinds of meaning a reader derived through this process depended on the notational format of the transcription and the reader’s method. A melodic, sectional understanding might have emerged from transcribing the piece voice by voice into any arrangement of separate parts—for example, two salient aspects to emerge are the various points of cadential preparation in the voices and the melodic relatedness of the soprano and tenor. A more harmonic, local understanding might have emerged from barring or scoring the parts. This would have allowed the reader to see the

⁹³ Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 110–46.

⁹⁴ “Dimostrazione della Musica Diatonica, à quattro voci composta,” “Essempio del Soprano Diatonico,” “Essempio del Contr’Alto Diatonico,” “Essempio del Tenore Diatonico,” and “Essempio del Basso Diatonico.”

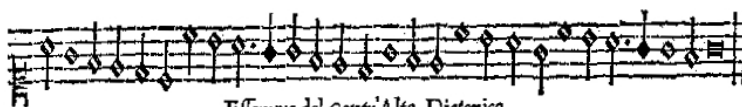
Figure 4.14. A textless example of the diatonic genus. In Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555), fol. 52r–52v. A page turn occurs after the second staff of the soprano voice; the remainder is overleaf.

Dimostrazione della Musica Diatonica, à quattro uoci composta. Cap. XXVI.

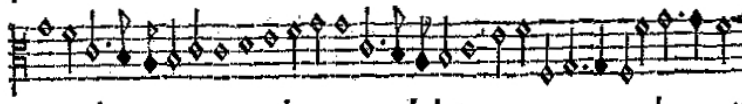
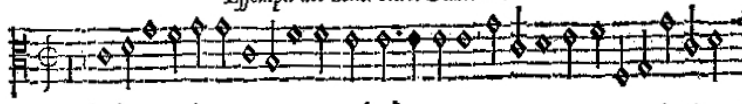


Cciò ch'il Lettore non stia dubbioſo, ho uoluto ſotto porre un eſſempio tutto Diatonico à quattro uoci, che quando canterà il Scolare, ſi farà più certo della Musica Diatonica; et la ſi potrà comporre à quante uoci uerrà in propoſito al Compoſitore; & ſi ſentirà in queſta Musica una aſprezza grande, à riſpetto di quella che è partecipata & miſta. Et il Compoſitore auuertirà che un ſoſpiro torrà uia il grado di Terza maggiore, & di minore; & queſta compoſitione ſeruirà al cantare & al ſonare.

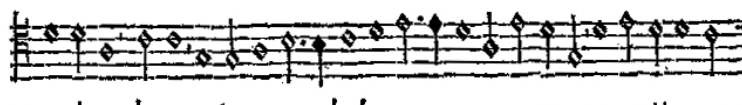
Eſſempio del Soprano Diatonico.



Eſſempio del Contr'Alto. Diatonico.



Eſſempio del Tenore Diatonico.



Eſſempio del Basso Diatonico.

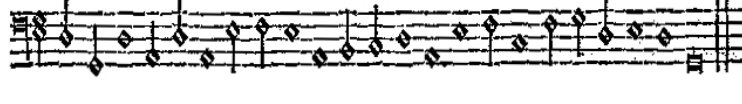
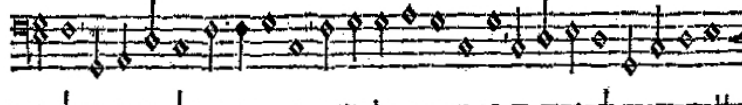
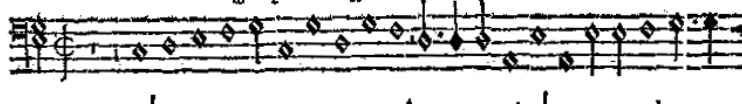


Figure 4.15. Transcription of figure 4.14.

Figure 4.15 shows a transcription of a musical score for four vocal parts: Soprano, Contr'Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The score is written in 2/4 time and begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Soprano and Contr'Alto parts are in treble clef, while the Tenore and Basso parts are in bass clef. The Soprano and Contr'Alto parts have a common starting point marked with a '1' and a common time signature of 2/4. The Tenore and Basso parts have a common starting point marked with a '1' and a common time signature of 2/4. The Soprano and Contr'Alto parts have a common starting point marked with a '1' and a common time signature of 2/4. The Tenore and Basso parts have a common starting point marked with a '1' and a common time signature of 2/4.

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Figure 4.15 (continued).

13

This system contains measures 13 through 16. It features four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The first treble staff has a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, including a half note rest in measure 14. The second treble staff has a more active line with eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The first bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with half and quarter notes. The second bass staff has a simpler line with half and quarter notes. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#).

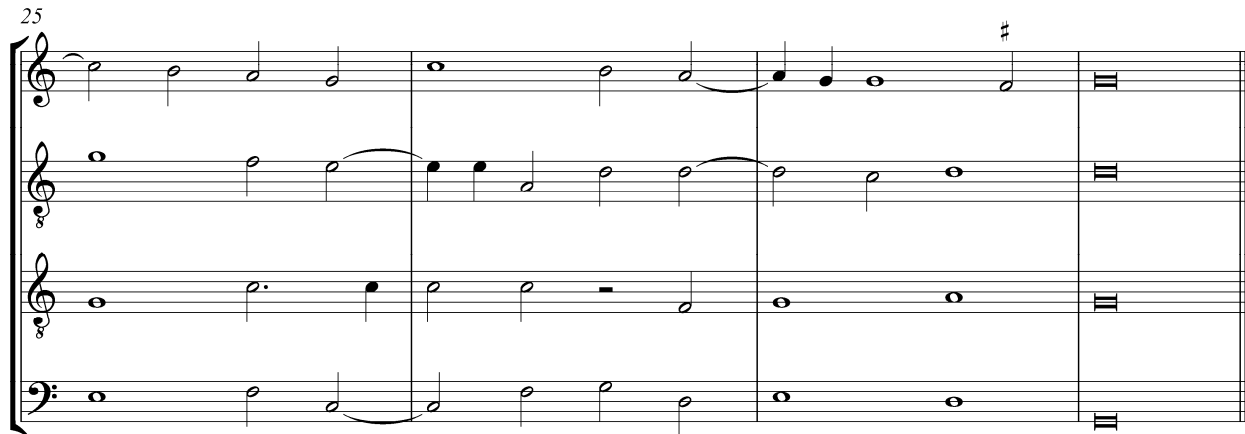
17

This system contains measures 17 through 20. The notation continues across the four staves. In measure 19, the first bass staff contains a half note with a sharp sign (#) above it, indicating a key change or a specific pitch. The melodic lines in the treble staves continue with various note values and rests.

21

This system contains measures 21 through 24. The musical notation follows the same four-staff format. The first treble staff shows a melodic line with some ties. The second treble staff continues with rhythmic patterns. The bass staves provide a steady accompaniment. The system concludes with measure 24.

Figure 4.15 (continued).



“harshness” (“asprezza”) that Vicentino attributes to the example through its studious avoidance of strong cadences.⁹⁵ Through this method, the reader also might have noted the rhythmic and textural variety; seldom do the voices move together rhythmically for more than two notes. One example of homorhythm occurs between the lower three voices toward the end of the example (figure 4.15, m. 22); this instance provides a perfect example of the evaded cadences that characterize the entire piece. Scoring and barring were not the only methods for achieving this kind of understanding; the reader employing separate parts could have transcribed each part breve by breve (or some other metrical unit), rather than part by part.

The textual function provides a more specific understanding of the composition’s musical style. Following a routine for reading pairs of voices, like those suggested by Tigrini and Vicentino, might have allowed the reader to understand all of the contrapuntal combinations within the four voices. Consider, for example, the opening phrase (figure 4.15, mm. 1–6). The reader begins with the tenor and bass voices, seeing that both are ascending figures separated by

⁹⁵ McKinney, “Point/Counterpoint” argues that Vicentino played up the harshness of his examples of the diatonic genus. See also the discussion in chapter two.

a perfect fifth and a minim. Abstracting the two voices into a sequence of intervals or a kind of canonic rule allows one to read the alto voice, while mentally filling in the tenor and bass voice through recall. Likewise for the soprano voice. To be sure, comprehending the entire texture in this manner, voice by voice and phrase by phrase, required practice and a good memory. I believe this was possible for Renaissance readers because, inspired by the words of the theorists themselves, I have practiced and experienced this intense, embodied mode of engagement for myself. The result is a thorough mental image of a composition, a vivid, multidimensional appreciation of the contrapuntal whole that contrasts with flat, two-dimensional, score-based modes of comprehension.⁹⁶

The digestive function of this musical example consists in comparing it to others in the treatise. There exists a mutual, but separable relationship between the prose and musical examples of a book. Just as the prose provides an explanation of Vicentino's example of diatonic music, the example provides an explanation of Vicentino's theory of diatonic music. In the iconic function, the prose takes priority, in the digestive function, the example takes priority. Further clarification of what constituted diatonic music emerges not from the prose, but from comparison with the other musical examples. It becomes clear that diatonicism results from the absence of the chromatic or enharmonic alterations that pervade the rest of the examples. Moreover, the general neglect of musical examples in the diatonic genus demonstrates that Vicentino's artistic priority was the promotion of the avant-garde enharmonic and chromatic genera.

⁹⁶ Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, 4–19 meditates on score-based and part-based modes of comprehension and performance.

The kinds of meaning derived from this single example are all valid readings of it; one is no less literate than any of the others. I do not wish to privilege one functional reading of musical notation over the others. My aim in this section has been to orient the subject of musical literacy around aesthetic reader response, which emphasizes the diversity of reader motivations and competencies, rather than artistic or poietic creation, which emphasizes the author's intent. This orientation offers a conceptual approach to musical literacy that offers a broader picture of what musical notation could mean during the Renaissance. Musical notation was an underdetermined medium, indicating that reader agency was a key factor in fixing meaning. As we come to appreciate the rich diversity of Renaissance readers, we can understand that musical notation assumed many more kinds of significance than has generally been assumed.

Conclusion

Printing technology allowed the diffusion of knowledge to an unprecedented extent. It opened up the subject of music for the first time to new readers. We have seen that those who owned books about music were very diverse, ranging from young boys to elderly scholars, and from interested amateurs to professional musicians. Readers left behind in their books numerous kinds of marks; some copies remain to this day unmarked, others are blackened with annotations. Readers extracted many different kinds of musical knowledge through the page and through their marks. On this basis, I have proposed a new, expanded conception of what it meant to read musical notation.

I showed in the previous chapters that authors and printers collaborated to maximize the potentials of their books; authors wrote in ways that catered to distinctive ways of approaching printed books and printers positioned their texts within the market through typography and marketing. In this chapter, I have argued that readers contributed to this ongoing process through

the marks in their books. This was the case particularly when authors themselves became readers. The most successful books—those that survive in the greatest quantities, those that went through the most editions during the Renaissance, and those that achieved the most prestige—conformed in many complex ways to reader expectations. Readers thus emerged as a generative force in shaping music discourse during the Renaissance. In the following chapter, I trace this process more directly, showing how books about music witness an increasingly close communication and interaction between authors, printers, and readers.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation, I have considered separately the ways that single parties—authors, printers, and readers—shaped and were shaped by their books about music. I have considered these parties as members of the communications circuit, a concept proposed by Robert Darnton in order to emphasize the dynamic transmission of printed texts. In chapter one, I explored this concept with respect to the general dissemination of printed books about music during the Renaissance. In this brief concluding chapter, I begin by articulating the latent points of connections among the authors, printers, and readers discussed in the previous chapters. These connections establish the circularity of the transmission of printed books about music—that is, the ways that such books furnished authors, printers, and readers with a medium for interaction. I then turn to the broader ramifications of these interactions, considering their broader effects on music discourse during the Renaissance and pointing to directions for further research on Renaissance music and print culture.

Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche*, considered intensively in the previous chapters, provides a particularly rich example of one text's transmission along the communications circuit. I have argued that the material and textual transformation of the book through three editions was designed to meet the needs of readers. These changes resulted from collaboration between Zarlino and his printer and publisher, Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. I also examined the professional relationship between Franceschi and Zarlino, arguing that the pair used a range of marketing strategies to sell books about music, by both Zarlino and other authors.

Finally, I examined how readers approached Zarlino's books using a variety of strategies to understand the complexities of his ideas; in appendix one, I consider briefly Zarlino's own habits as a reader.

Zarlino's *Istitutioni*, considered from these perspectives, made several laps around the communications circuit. The book's changing bibliographical shape brought its author, printers, and readers into greater communication. I suggest here that each of Zarlino's numerous publishing ventures made him increasingly conscious of the imperative to reach out to readers. The book's eventual success—that is, the immense esteem in which it was held during his lifetime and its status as a landmark of Renaissance musical thought—stemmed not from its encyclopedic scope or dazzling insights. Although these certainly played a role in shaping the book's reception, the book had to get into the hands of readers in the first place; the book's material evolution testifies to Zarlino's and Franceschi's attempts to make the book more reader-friendly and to position it properly within the marketplace. Evidence in surviving copies of the second and third editions indicate that Zarlino and Franceschi partially accomplished these goals. Numerous volumes in period bindings containing both the *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrationi* indicate that their marketing strategies bore fruit. Reader marks show that the printed marginal notes and two *tavole* helped readers to navigate the book.¹ The theoretical specifics, however, challenged readers' abilities, as shown by Bottrigari's need to copy out canons into score and numerous readers' need to make sense of Zarlino's number theories. Zarlino's *Istitutioni* thus shows that

¹ For example, the Bolognese natural historian Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) annotated the subject index of his copy of Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1589; I-Bu, shelfmark A.4.Q.1.25/1.1) in order to flag passages that caught his interest. Likewise, an anonymous reader's annotations in a copy Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1573; US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .Z37 1571) are confined to the marginal keywords, which clearly shaped the anonymous reader's progress through the book.

the communications circuit was not necessarily a sequential pathway, but an unordered, interconnected network of nodes through which texts could pass freely and often unexpectedly.

The other books that I have considered enrich this picture of the re-conception of Renaissance books about music through their transmission. Oratio Tigrini's *Il compendio della musica* provides a striking example of how one author's own reading habits shaped his writings; the fruits of his own research are presented in ways that makes them easily accessible to other readers. The contrast between Zarlino's struggle to find an audience and the naturalness of Tigrini's readability is reflected textually and materially in the *Compendio*, a relatively short volume in quarto format that emphasizes pragmatic concerns, provides copious musical examples as models for imitation, and digests the contents of several dozen other books about music for his readers.

Similarly, Heinrich Glarean worked tirelessly to intercede on behalf of the *Dodecachordon*. The plethora of presentation copies full of handwritten corrections and comments witness his efforts to persuade his readers to approach his book with a gracious frame of mind. They also provide detailed information about the challenges that books about music presented to printers, particularly the need to find craftsmen equally competent in setting both music and prose. Glarean's redactions of the *Dodecachordon*, the *Epitome* and *Usszug*, brought the larger book's ideas to new readers, especially those with limited humanist credentials. This intent is signaled both textually and materially—the employment of simplified Latin (*Epitome*) and German (*Usszug*) compared to the high Latin of the *Dodecachordon*; the downgrade in format from folio (*Dodecachordon*) to octavo (*Epitome* and *Usszug*); and an authorial emphasis on illustration (*Epitome* and *Usszug*) over explication (*Dodecachordon*).

The works by Ghiselin Danckerts, Vicente Lusitano, and Nicola Vicentino witness a similar attention to the needs and desires of readers. I showed that Danckerts revised his manuscript so that it conformed to reader expectations about the appearance and language of printed books about music. I argued that Lusitano's extended and carefully-calculated marketing scheme demonstrate a keen ability to discern what would attract readers to his books. I showed how Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* made explicit and repeated reference to the demands of reading about music. These works coincided with attempts by Roman printers to exploit interest in the subject of the ancient Greek music. Finally, Lusitano's and Vicentino's books provided special insight into the roles that bibliographical format (i.e., folio, quarto, octavo, etc.) and notational format (layout of polyphony in score, separate parts, choirbook format, etc.) played in helping or hindering readers to understand their books about music.

My analyses of these books highlight the ways that printing technology allowed individuals to act in new ways as producers and consumers of texts. This constellation of books about music shows how for the first time individuals dynamically performed multiple roles in the communications circuit. One of the more significant occupational twists to emerge in this dissertation is the authorial agency of printers in conveying meaning and constraining readers through typography. I proposed a typology of three basic book designs (scholastic, humanistic, and dialogic) to indicate the ways that printers could shape a book's content without altering its text. Glarean's manuscript comments in copies of the *Dodecachordon* also are especially revealing: the author acted as a publisher by sending his own works to specific readers; his comments show that he closely scrutinized the writing and printing of his own books as a reader. Different actors exercised these roles in different ways. I showed how Zarlino revised editions of

the *Istitutioni* in order to shape readers' perceptions of his broader oeuvre; given the close relationship he maintained with his publisher Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, he likely was on hand to supervise its editing and printing. Glarean's and Zarlino's books reflect this difference in their participation in the publication process. I propose, therefore, that the material condition of Renaissance books about music results from the particular circumstances in which they were produced. This is of course always true in a trivial sense. But on a deeper level, I hope to have shown that books about music witness unusually intense interactions between their producers, distributors, and consumers. These interactions furnish compelling evidence for the shaping of music discourse during the Renaissance.

The specific effects of printing technology on music discourse were wide-reaching. The most immediate effect was to make music discourse public for the first time. I have shown that the producers and consumers of books about music reacted to this reality in idiosyncratic ways. From the perspective of practical music theory, the essential challenge was to write about music—a fleeting, ephemeral phenomenon—in ways that could be understood easily. Some authors, such as Tigrini and Antonfrancesco Doni, attempted to make their books reader-friendly and accessible by creatively forging literary, scholarly, and musical solutions to this challenge. Other authors, such as Vicentino and Francisco Salinas, retreated to the ivory tower, writing uncompromisingly about difficult aspects of the practice of musical art. Many authors, such as Zarlino and Glarean trod a middle path, seeking simultaneously to break new ground and to reach a wide audience. Printers, publishers, and editors helped to focus and filter these works for wider consumption. Patrons sponsored the publication of works with a circumscribed audience, as in the case of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este and Vicentino's *L'antica musica*; sometimes even

authors sponsored their own editions, as was probably the case with Glarean's *Dodecachordon*.² I argued that books about music, especially those published without the financial support of an author or patron, served the commercial interests of the printer. Authors that sought to align their works with their printers' brands thus wrought an important and underexplored shift on discourse about music; fleshing out the nature of this shift remains a promising area for further study. Finally, readers provided feedback to authors and printers in the form of sales, in comments added to their books, and in the publication of their responses and commentaries as new books.

The establishment of public discourse about music and the proliferation of books by past and present writers contributed to another effect of printing technology: the formalization of music theory as an area of study. The works of Franchinus Gaffurius provide an instructive example. I suggest here that Gaffurius's status as a central authority on music resulted from his being the first author to publish exhaustive treatments of every topic of music at a time when books about the subject were still a novelty to most readers. The initial success of his books, especially the *Practica musicae*, laid the groundwork for a friendly posthumous reception; that is, his books were widely dispersed geographically by the time they entered the secondhand market. The significance of the lasting availability of his works emerges when compared to that of other musical authorities. As Zarlino noted in a letter to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, manuscript copies of Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* were hard to come by, despite being cited by many writers of books about music. Put simply, then, Gaffurius's works established and continued to influence the intellectual framework of music discourse throughout the sixteenth century.

Subsequent Renaissance writers on music invoked and employed Gaffurius's concepts,

² In a letter dated 15 April 1545, sent to his friend and Swiss theologian Johannes Aal, Glarean reported that one printer estimated a cost of 900 gold florins to execute the work properly. The letter is transcribed in Tatarinoff, *Die Briefe Glareans*, 38. Several times in the *Dodecachordon*, Glarean concedes its heft and typographical complexity.

terminology, and musical examples—even when they disagreed with them.³ Leslie Blasius has noted that that, during the Renaissance, new works by Pietro Aaron, Glarean, Vicentino, and Zarlino worked alongside those of Gaffurius to help the field of music theory cohere into a set of established areas of study and subtopics.⁴ I have shown that printing technology was a central agent in this process by enabling the production, dissemination, and reception of these works on a scale previously unseen.

The notion that printing technology contributed to the codification of knowledge during the Renaissance is not a new argument. Nonetheless, it has not been noted previously that music was among the first technical subjects to experience this effect of printing technology. Indeed, this may have been because music theory was comparatively uncrowded as a subject area. In a survey of the state of the field, Zarlino dismissed many previous writers as “commentators on Boethius” (for the full context, see appendix one). This might be seen to refer to an unusual situation in which Renaissance writers of books about music found themselves; prior to the invention of printing technology, there were few standard, widely-read texts on the subject of musical practice that were copied in scriptoria or part of curricula in schools or universities. I argued that the formalization of music discourse during the Renaissance followed from the challenges of writing and printing books about music. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, writers were forced to grapple with the particular difficulties of writing clearly about music. I have described several solutions to these problems, which included the increasingly prevalent use of short musical examples as concrete instantiations of musical sound.

³ Blackburn, “On Compositional Process”; Corwin, “*Le istituzioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino, Part 1,” 44–45; and Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 163–65 provide examples of the impact of Gaffurius’s works on the writings of Glarean and Zarlino.

⁴ Blasius, “Mapping the Terrain,” 31–34.

I showed how reader-friendly and pedagogically-effective musical examples were technically difficult to produce, regardless of their means of production. As early as the 1480s, authors and printers of books about music collaborated to engineer acceptable solutions to these conceptual and technical problems, reaching a high level of execution by 1500 with woodcuts. Moveable musical type increased the efficiency and expanded the technical possibilities of what could be illustrated. Given that books about music required specialized approaches to illustration, it is not coincidental that several printers of Renaissance books about music also produced some of the most notable illustrated works on other technical subjects. The following are among the numerous examples:

- The first edition of Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*, printed in 1543 at Nuremberg by Johann Petreius. Petreius also printed a number of books about music, including Nicolaus Listenius's *Musica* (1540) and Seybald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (1537).
- The second edition of Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*, printed in 1566 at Basel by Heinrich Petri. Petri also printed Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, *Epitome*, and *Usszug*.
- Daniele Barbaro's Italian translation of and commentary on Vitruvius's *De architectura*, printed with lavish woodcuts in 1556 at Venice by Francesco Marcolini. Marcolini also printed Lusitano's *Introduttione* (1558) and was the silent printer of Zarlino's *Istitutioni* (1558).
- A series of woodcut broadsides depicting scenes from Amerigo Vespucci's *Mundus novus*, printed in 1505 at Augsburg by Johann Froschauer. Froschauer also printed Michael Keinspeck's *Lilium musice plane* (2 editions, 1498 and 1500).

Few other technical subjects faced such difficulties in printing illustrations, relying instead on traditional methods of technical production (woodcuts and engravings) without confronting deeply what needed to be illustrated, how it was to be illustrated, or why. Put another way, I am suggesting that the challenges of crafting and preparing illustrations for books about music compelled their authors and printers to reflect on what purposes such illustrations served. This led in turn to a greater integration of illustrations with the surrounding prose and to more precise analytic language for describing music. The host of music-theoretical controversies prosecuted in print during the Renaissance—those between Lusitano, Danckerts, and Vicentino and between Giovanni Maria Artusi and Claudio Monteverdi being prominent examples—witness the initial development of vocabulary and methods for analyzing and critiquing musical compositions. The ability to scrutinize compositions specifically and abstractly in writing greatly advanced with the advent of printing technology thanks to the increasing production and geographical dissemination of music discourse. The changing linguistic face of music discourse that I am proposing is another promising area for further study.

The central method of this dissertation has been to trace the material evolution of books about music along the communications circuit. This method also could be applied fruitfully to the study of a related bibliographical category: books of music. In closing, I suggest a few possible directions for such studies. I have traced several individual works through multiple editions, showing how their material evolution reflected the particular circumstances of their creation. My analyses hinged on the importance of readers and the end-uses of these works. Taking multiple editions of individual books of music as a locus of study might reveal, for instance, how the popularity of certain books related to their ability to appeal to diverse audiences in different locations. Thomas W. Bridges' widely-cited study of one such work,

Arcadelt's first book of madrigals, focuses on its textual transformations through fifty-six editions, grouped by place of publication.⁵ Using Bridges' work as a point of departure, one might explore instead how these editions reflect the changing circumstances of local markets for printed music with regard to those who purchased books of music. Such a study might consider more intensively, for example, the associations of bibliographical format (oblong versus upright quarto as respective signifiers of practical intent versus musico-literary merit) or paratextual devices (title page illustrations and phrasings, dedications, etc.). Bridges' own conclusion (pp. 299–325) notes a number of further approaches, which are now rendered possible thanks to a body of scholarship that addresses these issues, and thanks to better bibliographical control of the corpus of printed music books and their ever-increasing searchability and digitization.

Additionally, I have addressed the relationship between books about music and other kinds of books. For example, I considered books about music from the perspectives of their printers' catalogs and how selected authors constructed plans to publish books both of and about music. Studies of music and print culture generally have taken a given printing firm's musical editions as the primary site of investigation. Very few firms during the Renaissance published exclusively music; for example, although the catalogs of Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano were dominated overwhelmingly by music books, both firms did release a handful of non-music books. Stanley Boorman has offered an excellent assessment of how Petrucci's four non-music books related to his departure from Venice and return to his hometown of Fossombrone around 1510.⁶ At several points, I have indicated how various interests coincided in the publication of certain books about music. Examining the non-music catalogs of larger

⁵ Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals."

⁶ Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 229–46.

printing firms that also printed music might yield a more detailed and more interesting picture of how music books related to those about other subjects. Daniel Heartz and Jane A. Bernstein have provided magisterial accounts of music in the early-modern book trade at Paris and Venice.⁷ Yet both scholars make only passing reference to the significant quantities of non-music books printed by their subjects, Pierre Attaignant and Girolamo Scotto. Further assessments of how music fit into the broader interests of large printing firms, such as fleshed out in Tim Carter's studies of the circumscribed market at Florence, will yield a greater understanding of the social and commercial functions of books of music.⁸

Further kinds of engagement with the wider book trade will allow Renaissance music-printing to transcend its present ghettoization within the history of the book. A number of studies of musical print culture have highlighted the alterity of books of music. For instance, Kate van Orden has noted that books of music contain neither alphabetical nor discursive texts, but rather musical and performative ones.⁹ Drawing on the work of Martha Feldman, she has noted further that the composers and editors who compiled books of music seem at odds with book-historical and literary notions of the author.¹⁰ From this perspective, books of music seem irreconcilably and hopelessly removed from other kinds of books. In this dissertation, I have outlined several solutions to this conundrum. I have proposed books about music as hybridizations of books of music and other kinds of books. Writers of books about music were authors in a true sense of the word—that is, they produced discursive texts alongside musical ones. Additionally, books about

⁷ Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 107–136; and Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 3–214.

⁸ Carter, “Music-Printing”; and Carter, “Music-Selling.”

⁹ van Orden, *Materialities*, 3–24.

¹⁰ Feldman, “Authors and Anonyms”; and van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 1–68.

music conformed more closely than books of music to expectations of what a book should look like. A central contribution of this dissertation is to view the author's words about music and their manner of presentation as conceptual bridges between book-historical and music-historical understandings of authorship. Furthermore, the extensive evidence of ownership and use preserved in the pages of books about music suggests new models for understanding what it meant to read during the Renaissance. In short, tracing Renaissance books about music along the communications circuit offers rich points of connection between the theory and practice of music and the world of printed books.

APPENDIX ONE: BOOKS IN THE LIVES OF MUSIC THEORISTS

The works of seven authors are examined in different lights in the preceding chapters, which analyze how authors, printers, and readers shaped the development of printed books about music during the Renaissance. The present appendix considers each of these seven authors in turn, providing a brief capsule biography and exploring the role of books and printing technology in their lives. The intent is not to account exhaustively for these figures' lives and works—tasks, for the large part, already capably executed by other scholars. Rather, the aim is to provide essential contexts for the discussions of the lives and works of these authors in the remainder of this dissertation. Toward this end, each section of this appendix maintains three aims: (1) to describe how these specific writers interacted with printing technology; (2) to indicate new discoveries or clarifications about their lives and works; and (3) to delineate the connections among the disparate discussions of their works in the preceding chapters.

Ghiselin Danckerts (c. 1510–1567)

Ghiselin Danckerts was born at Tholen in Zeeland, a western province in the Low Countries (now the Netherlands).¹ He began religious training and worked briefly as a cleric in the Diocese of Liège.² Two nephews, Petrus Adriano and Johannes Uberto, were both clerics active in Rome at the time of his death. Danckerts claimed to have served Pierluigi Caraffa, a member of the

¹ For biographical treatments, see De Bruyn, “Ghisilinus Danckerts”; Jas, introduction to Danckerts, *The Vocal Works*, viii–x; Morelli, “Una nouva fonte”; and Sherr, “Capsule Singer Biographies,” s.v. Most information about Danckerts's life comes from his own testimony in his treatise (discussed below).

² He is recorded as a “clericus leodiensis diocesis” at the time of his entrance to the Sistine Chapel; relevant archival documents are transcribed in De Bruyn, “Ghisilinus Danckerts,” 225–26.

Neapolitan noble family: “I have seen various gestures made by many people in favor of the diatonic genus; among others, by Signor Pierluigi Caraffa, the Neapolitan gentleman, called the *granmaestro* Caraffa, who so delighted in music that he always kept salaried musicians in his household up to his death, of which I was one.”³ The move to Naples was a sensible one, as both the Low Countries and Naples were under the control of the Holy Roman Empire, then headed by Charles V.

On 21 March 1538, he was admitted to the Sistine Chapel as a tenor. Vatican archives indicate that Danckerts was involved deeply in the administration of the choir, serving often as keeper of the roster and diary (*punctator*) and paymaster (*abbas* or *camerlengo*).⁴ His most notable absences were brief sojourns to Naples in 1547 and 1548. In 1565, at the instigation of Pius IV, cardinals Borromeo and Vitellozzi thoroughly overhauled the papal choir.⁵ At the conclusion of their investigation, Danckerts was forced into retirement, allegedly a result of his infirmity, declining ability, and predilections for money and women.⁶ He remained on the payroll until November 1567, presumably around the time of his death. That he died in or about 1567 is suggested by a last will and testament and an inventory of his household effects, both dated 3 October 1567 and recently discovered by Arnaldo Morelli.⁷

³ “ho visto fare varij motivi da molte persone per la Musica del genere Diatonico: & Tra le altre, S^{or} pierluigi Caraffa gentilhuomo Napolitano intitolato il Granmastro caraffa, ilquale se dilettaua di tal maniera della Musica, che sempre tenea Musici salariati in casa sua, fin alla morte: delli quali ne sono stato uno io.” I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 370r. For other accounts of music at the Caraffa court, see Cardamone and Haar, introduction to Cimello, *The Collected Secular Works*, xii–xiii.

⁴ De Bruyn, “Ghisilinus Danckerts,” 232; Sherr, “Capsule Singer Biographies,” s.v.

⁵ Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation*; and Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited” provide rich histories of this crucial aftereffect of the Council of Trent.

⁶ Sherr, “Competence and Incompetence,” 611–14.

⁷ Transcribed in Morelli, “Una nuova fonte,” 103–105.

Danckerts's participation in the 1551 debate between Lusitano and Vicentino was a defining moment in his career. The judges of the debate, Danckerts and the Spaniard Bartolome de Escobedo, both had served over a decade as members of the Papal Chapel. The participants in the debate regarded Danckerts and Escobedo as authoritative and impartial figures; the warrant signed by Lusitano and Vicentino identifies them as "learned and expert in music."⁸ In the wake of the debate, Danckerts began to transcribe his records of the heated proceedings. (A synthetic account of the debate based on the writings of Danckerts and Vicentino appears below.) As Lusitano's and Vicentino's own writings appeared and as the subject became increasingly fashionable in Roman circles (see chapter three), Danckerts expanded the notes to include his own thoughts on the application of ancient Greek music theory to modern musical practice. Over the course of a decade, he produced in total three manuscript copies of the document, now preserved at I-Rv, shelfmark Ms. R56.

Although numerous scholars have cited and referred to this document, a general description of its structure and contents is not readily available.⁹ The manuscripts at I-Rv survive in a large volume of sixty-four manuscripts. The collection was assembled and bound together during the seventeenth century in vellum-covered paper boards with two soft leather ties. The face of the folio-sized volume measures 235 × 295 millimeters, although individual manuscripts vary significantly in size, with codicological formats ranging from folio to duodecimo, including those made from various half-sheets and quarter-sheets. (To give a further indication of the volume's heft, its spine measures 145 millimeters.) The volume is titled "Raccolta di varie

⁸ "dotti et esperti in Musica." I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 352r. Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 448–50 gives a translation of this warrant.

⁹ An Italian critical edition is given in Campagnolo, "Trattato." A heavily abridged English translation of part two is given in Boncella, "Denying Ancient Music's Power."

scritture spettanti all'istoria, erudizione, costumi, et varia altre cose curiose" ("A Collection of Various Writings Pertaining to History, Learning, Customs, and Various Other Curiosities").

Topics of the manuscripts range from observations on the works of Aristotle (nos. 4–8), to dirty Neapolitan jokes (no. 31), advice on escaping prison (no. 49), and an anecdote about a Bengalese man who claimed in the year 1606 to be 380 years old (no. 28). The provenance of the collection is unclear; the manuscripts that comprise the collection are in diverse hands and were prepared at numerous points during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The compiler probably had a more-than-passing interest in music, as there is also a single-leaf primer on adapting keyboard works for the guitar (no. 57).

Within this collection are three manuscript drafts of Danckerts's treatise (nos. 15a, 15b, and 33). I follow Stefano Campagnolo in dating the initial composition of these drafts to 1551–1552, 1552–1554, and 1554–1556, although all three were revised at different points after 1555.¹⁰ The codicological and topical structure of each draft is indicated in table A1.1. During the nineteenth century, no. 15a was taken out of the larger collection, restored, bound individually, and assigned a new shelfmark (Ms. R56b; the larger volume is retrospectively labeled R56a). This probably was an effort to conserve the document, because it was larger than the other manuscripts in the collection (the average leaf height is 340 millimeters, compared to a maximum leaf height of 295 millimeters for the other items in the bound volume). Prior to this point, the entire collection was foliated 1–854 in red ink, which has faded on some pages to pale pink, at the upper, outer corners of each leaf. After this point, Ms. R56a was re-foliated 1–821 and Ms. R56b was re-foliated 1–33 with a mechanical stamp in black ink, at the bottom center

¹⁰ Campagnolo, "Trattato," 194–98. Each draft refers to Vicentino's *L'antica musica*, not published until 1555.

Table A1.1 Structure and contents of Ghiselin Danckerts’s manuscripts I-Rv, Ms. R56.

First draft, Ms. R56, no. 15a (bound separately as Ms. R56b)

Gathering	fol.	Contents
1 (3 ll.) ¹	348r	Title page
	348v	Blank
	349r–350r	“L’Autore alli Lettori”
	350v	Blank
2 (8 ll.)	351r–352v	Proem
	352v–358r	Part one (7 chapters on the debate with documentary evidence)
	358v	Blank
3 (15 ll.) ²	359r–371v	Part two (14 chapters on the ancient Greek genera and modern musical practice)
	372r–373v	Blank, but headed “SECONDA PARTE”
4 (8 ll.)	374r–380v	Part three (5 chapters on the various errors of modern composers)
	380v	Indication of Vicentino’s chapter to be inserted
	381r–381v	Blank

Notes

¹ Gathering 1 originally consisted of two bifolia (ll. 348+? and 349+350). The conjugate of l. 348, probably originally blank, has been discarded. During conservation, fol. 348v was pasted onto fol. 350v at the spine fold.

² Seven bifolia (ll. 360+372, 361+370, 362+369, 363+368, 364+367, 365+366) with an interpolated leaf (l. 371). The conjugate leaves of the outermost bifolium (ll. 360 and 372) are now separated and pasted onto a support. A diagram of this gathering appears in chapter three.

edges of each leaf. My citations are to the system of foliation in red ink, which is significantly less error-prone than the foliation in black ink.

Danckerts’s are among the few surviving Renaissance manuscripts of music theory that were working drafts. Music-theory manuscripts more familiar to music historians, such as those containing the works of Johannes Tinctoris and Franchinus Gaffurius, were produced professionally and record more-or-less completed texts.¹¹ Manuscript letters by music theorists, such as those by Girolamo Mei and Giovanni Spataro, did function as drafts, but witness far

¹¹ See, for example, the lavish manuscripts of Tinctoris’s works (E-VAu, Ms. 835) or of Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (I-LOcl, Cod. min. xxviii.a.9, and A-Wn, Cod. Ser. nov. 12745 Han.). For facsimiles of the Gaffurius manuscripts, see Caretta et al., *Franchino Gaffurio*, facing p. 41.

Table A1.1 (continued). *Second draft, Ms. R56, no. 15b*

Gathering	fol.	Contents
1 (4 ll.) ¹	382 r	Half-title page
	382 v	Blank
	[–] r	Full-title page, version 1
	[–] v	Blank
	383 v	Solmization exercises, continued
	383 r	Solmization exercises
	384 r	Full-title page, version 2
	384 v	Blank
2 (2 ll.)	385 r –386 r	Proem
	386 v	Headed “TAVOLTA,” otherwise blank
3 (6 ll.)	387 r	Blank
	387 v –392 v	Part one (8 chapters, heavily redacted, on the debate with documentary evidence; chapter 2 appears after chapter 4)
4 (2 ll.) ²	393 r –394 r	Continued
	394 v	Blank
5 (10 ll.)	395 r –404 v	Part two, draft one (10 chapters on the ancient Greek genera and modern musical practice; all illustrations and examples present)
6 (8 ll.)	405 r –411 r	Part three (6 chapters on the various errors of modern composers; an interpolated leaf appears between fol. 410 v –411 r , rewriting a passage on fol. 410 v)
	411 v –412 v	Blank
7 (11 ll.)	413 r –423 v	Part two, draft two (13 chapters on the ancient Greek genera and modern musical practice; an interpolated leaf appears between fol. 421 v –422 r , rewriting chapter 12 on fol. 421 v ; spaces left blank for illustrations on fol. 416 r , 417 r , and 422 v)

Notes

¹ The structure of this gathering is anomalous. It originally consisted of two bifolia. Early on, the fourth leaf was separated from its conjugate (now ℓ . 382) and discarded. A sheet with solmization exercises was pasted formerly onto fol. 384 v . During conservation, this sheet was removed, foliated as ℓ . 383, and tipped in backward (hence the sequence verso/recto). Also during conservation, fol. 382 v was pasted onto fol. 384 v at the spine fold.

² Gatherings 2–4 appear at first glance to be a single gathering of 10 leaves. Stitching is nonetheless visible at the spine folds of the following bifolia: $\ell\ell$. 385+386, 389+390, and 393+394. During conservation, these three gatherings were pasted onto a set of interlocking supports, making them appear as a single gathering.

fewer and less thoroughgoing emendations.¹² Perhaps a closer comparison might be Lusitano’s untitled manuscript treatise, now at F-Pn, ms. Espagnol 219 (described further below). This manuscript contains a fair amount of authorial reworking, also probably in preparation for

¹² For selected facsimiles of these letters, see Mei, *Letters*; and Blackburn et al., *A Correspondence*.

Table A1.1 (continued). *Third draft, Ms. R56, no. 33*

Gathering	fol.	Contents
1 (4 ll.)	566r–568v	Proem
	569r–569v	Blank
2 (10 ll.)	570r–579v	Part one (8 chapters on the debate with documentary evidence)
3 (12 ll.)	580r–590r	Part two (several unnumbered sections, heavily redacted, on the ancient Greek genera and modern musical practice; an interpolated leaf appears between fol. 580v–581r, rewriting a passage on fol. 581r; fol. 587v–589r ruled for musical examples but otherwise blank)
	590v–591v	Blank
4 (8 ll.)	592r–599r	Part three (four chapters, heavily redacted, on the various errors of modern composers)
	599v	Blank
5 (2 ll.)	600r–601v	Part three, chapters 3 and 4 rewritten
6 (2 ll.)	602r–603v	Continued; trials of title phrasing on fol. 603v

publication. Yet Lusitano's changes to his manuscript are of a simpler, more linear nature than Danckerts's; the vast majority consist of entire sentences and paragraphs canceled by strikethrough then neatly rewritten interlineally or marginally. In contrast, many pages of Danckerts's autograph copies of the treatise (I-Rv, Ms. R56, nos. 15a and 15b) are blackened by copious corrections and revisions. Danckerts's third draft (I-Rv, Ms. R56, no. 33) is a fair copy produced by a professional scribe, but contains numerous corrections in Danckerts's hand. I show in chapter two that the work's concept shifted throughout the entire period of composition. Danckerts vacillated over whether to include certain sections, changing his mind several times during the course of assembling even single drafts. His manuscripts thus provide an unparalleled window into the mind of an author preparing his work for publication.

The inventory of Danckerts's household effects paints a vivid picture of the role of writing and books in his everyday life. The first item of the inventory is "a walnut study with all its drawers, the which drawers were all full of various writings and little books, and also other things of no importance, and among others one was full of various prints of music made from

metal type.”¹³ The inventory also mentions “a cabinet full of various books and sheets of music and other things, ranging from small to large, and many old books and sheets of music, and two shelves, namely one to hold books and the other to hold dirty, old rastrums.”¹⁴ These furnishings provide a detailed picture of the author composing his various manuscripts. All in one place Danckerts had the materials he needed to prepare a manuscript, namely a supply of paper and various writing implements. Danckerts’s surviving manuscripts, including the one at I-Rv and another one at I-Rsc (shelfmark G. Ms. 968, described in chapter two), witness the use of at least three rastrums of various sizes and spacing. In the same space, Danckerts also had all his books, which he consulted while writing. The manuscript copies of his treatise at I-Rv refer regularly to printed books of and about music. Chapter three of part three, for example, gives Danckerts’s “opinion concerning the errors committed by those who title their songs chromatic.”¹⁵ He cites four books, giving their titles and full facts of publication, omitting only the names of their composers:

They title [their works] chromatic, as one sees from the first book of chromatic madrigals for four voices, printed at Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1543, and from the first book of chromatic madrigals for five voices, similarly printed at Venice but by Antonio Gardano in 1544, and thus from the first book of chromatic duos to sing and to play, one part composed above the others with the resolution of the part, printed at Venice by the said Antonio Gardano in 1545, and from the second book of chromatic duos by the same author, composed one part

¹³ “uno studiolo di noce con tutti li suoi cassetini, quali cassetini erano tutti pieni de diverse scritture et libretti, et ancho altre cose di poco importanza, et tra li altri uno era pieno di diverse stanpe [sic] di metallo da stampare in musica.” Morelli, “Una nuova fonte,” 88. What exactly is meant by “stanpe” is unclear; it may refer to sorts of musical type or perhaps even stamps of musical notation, which would be of particular interest to musicologists. I follow Morelli in identifying “stanpe...in musica” as “prints of music.”

¹⁴ “un armarietto pieno di diversi libri et fogli di musica et altre sorte fra piccolo et grandi, et molti altri libri e fogli di musica, et dui stucci, cioè una da tenere libri et l’altro da tenere pettini vecchi brute.” Morelli, “Una nuova fonte,” 105. Ibid., 88n argues that the “pettini” are various rastrums for drawing staff lines.

¹⁵ “Opinione sopra li errori comettino quelli che intitolano i loro canti per Chromatici.” I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 376v.

above the other printed at Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1549, leaving aside others for the sake of brevity.¹⁶

Throughout his treatise, Danckerts also invokes the authority of Pietro Aaron, Franchinus Gaffurius, and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. He cites the errors in Vicentino's *L'antica musica* with bibliographical precision: "Here follows the chapter on the foresaid musical debate, printed in the foresaid musical book by the said Don Nicola, on folio 95 with the changes and additions to the words that are not in the originals, as was said above."¹⁷ This evidence suggests that Danckerts, like Vicentino, might have recognized that print was an ideal medium for adjudicating disagreements.

The scope of Danckerts's publishing agenda was ambitious. His manuscripts at I-Rv and I-Rsc present comprehensive accounts of the theory and practice of modern music; in chapter two, I show that, despite never making it to the press, Danckerts prepared both for publication. Even before the debate and before he entered papal service, while at Naples, Danckerts made formidable plans to publish several collections of music. On 22 March 1537, he obtained from Pope Paul III a privilege to protect a large variety of sacred and secular works for voices and instruments: "various works of figural song, such as masses, motets, hymns, psalms, orations,

¹⁶ "Intitolandole per Chromatice, come pare per il libro primo de i Madrigali Chromatici a quattro voci: stampati in Venetia da Hieronimo Scotto nel 1543. & per il libro primo de Madrigali Chromatici a cinque voci stampato similmente in Venetia: ma dà Antonio gardane nel 1544. et cosi per il primo libro di duo cromatici, da cantar et sonare composti una parte sopra l'altra con la sua resolutione da parte stampato Venetis apud detto Antonium gardane 1545. et per il 2° libro di duo cromatici dal medesimo autor Composti una parte sopra l'altra stampato Venetis apud Hieroni Scottum 1549. et altri, lasciati qui per abbreviarla." Ibid. (cancellations and marginal additions incorporated silently). It is possible to identify all but the first of these, which are as follows: Cipriano de Rore, *Il primo libro de madregali cromatici a cinque voci* (1544 = RISM R2480); Agostino Licino, *Primo libro di duo cromatici* (1544 = RISM L2342); and Agostino Licino, *Il secondo libro di duo cromatici* (1546 = RISM L2344). Danckerts seems to err in attributing the last publication to Scotto in 1549 (it is Gardano in 1546), although this and the first book listed may be ghost editions.

¹⁷ "Seguità il Capitolo della Differentia Musicale predetta; Stampato nel volume musicale preditto del ditto don Nicola, a carte 95 con le alterationi et aggiuntioni delle parole che non stanno ne i loro originali, come di sopra è stato detto." I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 380v.

lamentations, songs [*cantiones*], dialogues, and others of this kind, and also intabulations of their parts for the lute, viol, keyboard [*cimbali*], organ, and other similar musical instruments.”¹⁸

Scholars have doubted that Danckerts ever composed this much music, although Morelli indicates that the papal breve specifies that the music was written by Danckerts and others.¹⁹

Donna Cardamone hypothesizes that Danckerts was involved in the publication of two prints of Neapolitan compositions around 1537: the *Canzoni villanesche alla napolitana* (RISM 1537⁴); and *Madrigali a tre et arie napolitane* (RISM [c. 1537]⁸).²⁰ Danckerts’s papal privilege indicates that he may have acted more broadly as a publisher, selecting and sponsoring the publication of many other works by numerous composers. His possible activities in this capacity deserve further study.

Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522)

During the early years of the sixteenth century, the Italian writer Pantaleo Meleguli penned an extensive biographical sketch of Gaffurius.²¹ The sketch was printed at the conclusion of Gaffurius’s treatise on ancient Greek music, titled *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (1518).²² Its accuracy—or at least its adherence to Gaffurius’s preferred self-fashioning—is

¹⁸ “diversa opera cantus figurati vel puta missas, moteta, hymnus, psalmus, orationes, lamentationes, cantiones, dialogos et alia huius generis plura...ac ea seu eorum partem ad intabulaturam liuti seu vyole ac cimbali et organi consimiliumque instrumentorum musicalium.” Llorens, *La capilla pontificia*, 827–29.

¹⁹ Morelli, “Una nuova fonte,” 77. Sherr, “Ceremonies for Holy Week,” 403 calls this a “surely fanciful plan”; see also Jas, introduction to Danckerts, *The Vocal Works*, ix.

²⁰ Cardamone, “A Colorful Bouquet,” 134–36.

²¹ A full chronology of Gaffurius’s life is given in Kreyszig and Kreyszig, “The Transmission of Pythagorean Arithmetic,” 398–99. Further on his biography, see Blackburn, “Gaffurius, Franchinus”; Caretta et al., *Franchino Gaffurio*; Kreyszig, “Beyond the Music-Theoretical Discourse”; Miller, “Gaffurius’s *Practica musicae*”; Sartori, “Franchino Gaffurio a Milano”; and Young, introduction to Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1969), xv–xxv.

²² Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1518), sig. N5r–N5v. An English translation is given in Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1977), 212–14.

verified by its presence in several earlier manuscripts prepared under the supervision of Gaffurius.²³ Like many of his contemporaries, Gaffurius lived a peripatetic early life, traveling from town to town throughout the Italian peninsula. He was born on 14 January 1451 at Lodi in the northern Italian province of Lombardy. His father, called Betino, was a soldier from Bergamo working in the service of the Ludovico Gonzaga at Mantua. After being ordained a priest at Lodi in 1474, Franchinus's travels took him to Bergamo, Cremona, Genoa, Mantua, Naples, and Verona, along the way working diligently and establishing a network of far-flung correspondents. Two such correspondents were Johannes Tinctoris, one of the most significant fifteenth-century music theorists, and Gaspar van Weerbeke, a singer in the Sforza chapel at Milan.

In 1484, he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo at Milan, a post he held for the remainder of his life. Clement A. Miller's translation of Meleguli's sketch says that Gaffurius's appointment coincided with the rise of his friend Romanus Barnus, a theologian from Lodi, to the position of Archbishop of Milan.²⁴ This confuses the facts. In 1484, Cardinal Giovanni Arcimboldo became the archbishop; he was also the dedicatee of Gaffurius's first publication, the *Theoricum opus musice disciplinum* (1480). The precise identity of Barnus remains obscure; Meleguli states, as Burney notes, that Barnus was an advisor of Arcimboldo ("ubi Archiepiscopi vices") who might have taken over unofficially during the archbishop's frequent absences.²⁵ Moreover, Gaffurius was friends with a distinguished predecessor at the

²³ The most well-documented is at I-LOcl, Cod. min. xxviii.a.9. Caretta et al., *Franchino Gaffurio*, 20–25 gives a critical edition of the biography that notes the differences between versions and an Italian translation.

²⁴ Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1977), 213: "Finally the Lodi canon, Romanus Barnus, theologian and jurisprudent, succeeded as archbishop of Milan with the greatest authority. Through his own love of music and the fame of Gaffurius, he brought the latter to him."

²⁵ Burney, *A General History of Music*, 3:309

Duomo, Josquin des Prez.²⁶ In any event, it seems likely that Gaffurius's appointment as *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo resulted from personal connections. In this capacity, Gaffurius composed and wrote about music, and taught schoolboys to sing.²⁷ The post was significant because the Duchy of Milan was a hub of Italian cultural activity, regularly hosting monarchs, clerics, and diplomats from across Europe.

At this time, the Duchy of Milan was controlled by the House of Sforza, and Gaffurius quickly ingratiated himself into their good graces. In 1497, he became a professor at the university in Milan founded by Ludovico Sforza (1452–1508); this perhaps was a concession for Ludovico denying Gaffurius's request for a benefice two years earlier. Still, Gaffurius was not above following the tides of public favor. In 1499, Louis XII of France (1462–1515) seized the Duchy of Milan. In subsequent publications, Gaffurius fashioned himself as the “regius musicus” (“royal musician”), despite having no connection whatsoever to the royal court in Paris, and despite the natural antipathy between Ludovico and Louis.²⁸

Gaffurius maintained diverse intellectual interests. He claimed to have instigated the scholar Giovanni Francesco Burana to translate a number of classical Greek works in Latin, which formed the basis for most musicians' knowledge of ancient music: Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* (c. 300); Bacchius Geron (called the Elder), *Introductio artis musicae* (c. 300); Manuel Bryennius, *Harmonica* (c. 1300); and Claudius Ptolemy, *Harmonica* (c. 150).²⁹ Clement

²⁶ Fallows, “Josquin and Milan.”

²⁷ For a selective study of Gaffurius's compositions, see Gasser, “The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices.”

²⁸ Control of the duchy returned to the Sforza in 1512, although the French, now under Francis I (1494–1547), reasserted control in 1515. Aided by the Austrians, the French were repelled in 1521 and Francesco II Sforza (1495–1535) took over as duke.

²⁹ Palisca, *Humanism*, 12–13, 191–92, and 208–211 questions Gaffurius's direct knowledge of these sources.

A. Miller has compiled a list of sources cited directly or indirectly in Gaffurius's works—the array is impressive, especially considering patterns in the transmission of humanistic manuscripts during the fifteenth century.³⁰ Beginning in the 1490s and lasting until his death in 1522, Gaffurius was embroiled in a pamphlet war with the Bolognese music theorist Giovanni Spataro (1458–1541).³¹ Spataro, in following his teacher Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia (c. 1440–after 1491), undermined many of the tenets of medieval music theory, arguing against Pythagorean tuning, suggesting intonations based on simpler ratios, and rejecting the Guidonian system of hexachords as outmoded. Spataro fell under attack from both Gaffurius and another Bolognese writer on music from Parma, Nicolò Burzio (1453–1528), both of whom argued that time-honored musical traditions needed no such innovations.

Two features of this exchange are remarkable. First, the exchange was deeply embedded in the culture of books. Letters both in print and in manuscript refer constantly to printed books, showing how important they had become in music discourse even at this early stage. Second, these printed books reinforced notions of regional identity and traditions. Gaffurius is styled consistently as “*laudensis*” (“of Lodi”), Spataro as “*bolognese*” or “*bononiensis*,” and Burzio as “*parmensis*.” Despite physically crossing geographical and political boundaries, printed books reinscribed their importance. Gaffurius's epithet for Spataro (“*vaginarium bononiensis*”) has as much to do with the toponymic adjective as with the crude noun.³² Also of note for this study is

³⁰ Miller, “Gaffurius's *Practica musicae*,” 110–111.

³¹ In addition to the printed exchanges, see Spataro's correspondence in Blackburn et al., *A Correspondence*.

³² Blackburn, “Gaffurius, Franchinus” notes correctly that “*vaginarium*” was a Latinized form of “Spataro” meaning “sheath-maker.” Given the acrimonious spirit of the exchange, however, it seems likely that the English cognate also seems to have been invoked in this rendering of Spataro's name. Barnhard, *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology*, 1191 notes that the English word is first attested in an anatomical sense in 1682, although it had probably acquired that sense in Latin for some time beforehand.

the genesis of the debate. Gaffurius was a profligate annotator of books and this practice extended to books that he borrowed. Probably around 1490, Spataro lent Gaffurius a copy of his teacher's treatise, Ramis's *Musica practica* (1482). Spataro's ire was sparked initially when he discovered that Gaffurius had littered the margins of his book with annotations critical of his revered teacher's theories.

Although many Renaissance authors of books on music spoke about the role that books played in their lives, Gaffurius does this more extensively than any other, speaking frequently of the material aspects of his books. At the beginning of chapter two, I quote the epigram to Gaffurius's *De harmonia* (1518), a dialogue between the author and his book. The epigram demonstrates Gaffurius's immersion in the world of books, which—it is worth emphasizing—continued to circulate in both print and manuscript throughout the Renaissance.³³ Meleguli's biography also concedes the importance of printing technology to Gaffurius's fame: "Because he had written [the *Theorica* and *Practica*] with perhaps less effectual solicitude, he allowed his recent works (also in the vernacular), as if white clay kneaded and exactly shaped, to be printed in this distinguished city."³⁴ The first editions of his most important works—the *Theorica*, *Practica*, and *De harmonia*—all were printed at Milan (his single-author publications are listed in table A1.2). Gaffurius conceived of these works as a trilogy, treating of the entire field of musical study: the mathematical and philosophical foundations of music (*Theorica*), the art of

³³ Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory," 381 provides a brief encapsulation of the role of book culture in Renaissance music theory.

³⁴ Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1977), 213. "quia alia efficaci minus cura fortasse composuerat: in hac inclyta urbe recenti velut argilla subacta & examusim conformata (vernacula etiam lingua) imprimi pmisit." Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1518), sig. N5v.

Table A1.2. Single-author publications of Franchinus Gaffurius.

Year	Title (place: publisher, date)	Dedicatee
1480	<i>Theoricum opus musice disciplinum</i> (Naples: Francesco di Dino, 8.x.1480)	Giovanni Arcimboldo
1492	<i>Theorica musicae</i> (Milan: Filippo Mantegazza for Johannes Petrus de Lomatio, 15.xii.1492)	Ludovico Sforza
1496	<i>Practica musicae</i> (Milan: Guillaume Le Signerre for Johannes Petrus de Lomatio, 30.ix.1496)	Ludovico Sforza
1497	<i>Practica musicae</i> (Brescia: Angelo and Giacomo Britannico, 23.ix.1497)	Ludovico Sforza
1502	<i>Practica musicae</i> (Brescia: Bernardino Misinta for Angelo Britannico, viii.1502)	Ludovico Sforza
1508	<i>Practica musicae</i> (Brescia: Angelo Britannico, 31.v.1508)	Ludovico Sforza
1508	<i>Angelicum ac divinum opus musice</i> (Milan, Gottardo Pontio, 16.ix.1508)	Simone Crotto
1512	<i>Practica musicae</i> (Venice: Agostino Zani, 28.vii.1512)	Ludovico Sforza
1518	<i>De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus</i> (Milan: Gottardo Pontio, 27.xi.1518)	Jean Grolier
1520	<i>Apologia Franchini Gafurii musici adversus Ioannem Spatarium</i> (Turin: Agostino da Vimercate, 20.iv.1520)	Jean Grolier [implied by arms at end of text]
1521	<i>Epistola prima [+ secunda apologia] Franchini Gafurii musici in solutiones obiectionum Ioannis Vaginarri bononiensis</i> (s.l. [Milan]: s.n., 1521)	Second letter addressed to Antonio Alberti

musical practice (*Practica*), and ancient Greek harmonics (*De harmonia*).³⁵ This was an immense intellectual achievement that established him as a central thinker on the subject of music. His influence on the development of Renaissance music discourse was inestimable; with very few exceptions, every subsequent Renaissance music theorist knew his works and read them carefully.³⁶ Gaffurius's *De harmonia*, in particular, was central in priming wider interest in

³⁵ In-depth summaries of these books are given in Kreyszig, introduction to Gaffurius, *The Theory of Music*; Miller, "Gaffurius's *Practica musicae*"; and Miller, introduction to Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1977).

³⁶ Young, introduction to Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1969), xv: "Leading theorists of diverse national origins—including the German Ornithoparcus and his English translator, the lutenist John Dowland, Galliculus and Listenius of Leipzig, the Swiss humanist Glarean, Aron and Zarlino of Italy, Jacques LeFevre (Faber Stapulensis) of France, and even the Hungarian Monetarius—cited, paraphrased, or plagiarized text and music [from Gaffurius's works.]"

ancient Greek music theory, then coming under increasing scrutiny with the recovery of ancient testimony.³⁷

Gaffurius's books abound with illustrations and musical examples, and were among the earliest printed books about music to do so.³⁸ These include diagrams, tables, charts, examples of plainchant (in the Gregorian and local Ambrosian rites), simple representations of notes, rests, and ligatures, and full-length samples of polyphony—all executed through woodcuts. Given the general state of technical illustrations during the incunabular period, they are of a high quality.³⁹ James Haar has noted that the first edition of the *Practica* (1496) integrates the book's illustrations into its theoretical arguments.⁴⁰ The full-page illustrations on the title page and at the start of each of the book's four parts visually reflect the points of topical continuity and contrast in the text. H. Edmund Poole has shown that the musical examples in the several editions of the *Practica* are identical, which suggests that they belonged to Gaffurius, who lent them to the firms that published these reprints.⁴¹ The *Practica* was especially successful; the first edition sold out within a year, and was reprinted four times at Brescia and Venice. Few other books of such a scope and magnitude achieved similar success; the works of Vicentino and Zarlino, both important works, were notably slow sellers (see below and chapter two). An important material feature of all the works of the Gaffurian trilogy were printed marginal notes, which identify

³⁷ Palisca, *Humanism*, 23–50.

³⁸ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 19–30. See also the discussion in chapter two.

³⁹ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 64–68.

⁴⁰ Haar, “The Frontispiece.”

⁴¹ Poole, in Krummel and Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, 7–10. See also Genesi, “Xilografie musicali gaffuriani”; and Hirsch, “Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucke des Franchino Gaffuri.”

All of the first editions of Gaffurius's books included a portrait of the author. The *Theoricum* (1480) and *Theorica* (1492) both include a woodcut portrait of the author seated at the organ, the pipes of which are overlaid with a representation of the gamut (figure A1.1)—this is the first instance of which I am aware of a book about music that distills the precepts of the

Figure A1.2. Franchinus Gaffurius teaching a group of schoolboys. In *Practica musicae* (Milan: Guillaume Le Signerre for Johannes Petrus de Lomatio, 1496), sig. A1r.



book in graphic form on the title page.⁴² One of the full-page woodcuts in the first edition of the *Practica* includes a miniature of Gaffurius teaching a group of schoolboys (figure A1.2). The teacher is seated at a lectern, with his left hand placed on an open book as he observes the class. In front of him are five young boys, each one reading aloud from an open book in hand.

Both the large portrait of Gaffurius at the organ from the title page of the *Theorica* and the mythological scene from the title page of the *Practica* reappear in *De harmonia* (sig. N6v and M6v, respectively). This helped the trilogy to cohere graphically as a set—it also might reflect Gaffurius’s keenness to make the most of the expensive woodcuts in his possession. A third woodcut of Gaffurius teaching on the title page of *De harmonia* makes the cohesion of the set explicit (figure A1.3).⁴³ Around the edges of the image runs an inscription that stakes a claim for his reputation and refers specifically to his theoretical triptych: “Franchinus Gaffurius of Lodi,

⁴² The woodcut appears in Gaffurius, *Theoricum* (1480), sig. N2r; and Gaffurius, *Theorica* (1492), sig. π1r. For the representation of the gamut on organ pipes, see Balensuela, “*Ut hec te figura docet.*”

⁴³ The woodcut appeared previously in Gaffurius, *Angelicum* (1508), sig. A2r, which also included the portrait of Gaffurius at the organ (sig. I4v) and one of the full-page illustrations in the *Practica* (sig. B1r).

Figure A1.3. Franchinus Gaffurius teaching a group of students. In *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan: Gottardo Pontio, 1518), sig. A1r.



who wrote most accurately three books on the theory, practice, and instrumental harmony of music.” Gaffurius’s fortunes as a teacher have improved since his portraiture in the *Practica*. Here, he sits elevated before a rapt audience of twelve pupils, who appear to be older than the schoolboys in the earlier scene (one is tonsured); they sit silently before their master. Gaffurius’s left hand props open a large, richly bound-volume from which he quotes the maxim, “Harmony is discord concordant.” This is stylized visually through organ pipes at his right and line segments at his left, both in the ratio 3:4:6 (which produces an octave partitioned, from the bottom up, into a fifth and a fourth). Also at Gaffurius’s left is a compass, the traditional tool of measurement, a critical instrument for assessing harmony in its physical manifestations. The

image functions as a visual representation of the subject matter of the *De harmonia*. All of the author portraits in these editions invoke the authority of Gaffurius by presenting him as a knowledgeable figure in a position of respect. Gaffurius's books also established the trend in books about music of including portraits of their authors and scenes of reading, both of which are taken up in more detail in chapter two. Gaffurius's books also anticipate two important trends in Renaissance books about music: an emphasis on pragmatism over scholasticism and the adoption of the vernacular. The *Practica* begins with a dedication to Ludovico Sforza. In it, Gaffurius states his aim to present a comprehensive picture of the art of music without giving excessive or arcane details:

If I exert myself to the utmost, it is only with the hope that my industry be of value to the advancement of the studious, and that I may be considered as having made a suitable and concise compilation of material, so that whatever is needed from the writing of varied authors may be found in a single work arranged in a convenient order. We have endeavored to present all subjects from their origins in an unbroken sequence from beginning to end, so that the reader does not wander about in confusion in an otherwise difficult art and struggle with writings that are more inept than obscure in subject matter.⁴⁴

This concern with (or at least the rhetorical conceit of) reader-friendliness and the general approach of curating the best extracts from various writers find echoes in a many subsequent Renaissance books about music.

Gaffurius also is the author, at least nominally, of the first books about music in the Italian language. The year 1508 saw the publication of the *Angelicum ac divinum opus musice*, an adaptation of the *Practica* in Italian. The *Angelicum* is dedicated to Simone Crotto, a

⁴⁴ Gaffurius, *Practica* (1968), 16–17 (adapted); cf. Gaffurius, *Practica* (1969), 6–7. “satis mihi superque erit: si tantum adnitar: hactenusque industriam nostrum commendari volo ut studiosorum profectui concinna compendiosaque brevitate consuluisse dicar: ut quae forent sparsim per Authorum volumina requirenda in uno opere: convenienti rerum ordine congesta reperiantur. Elaboravimus namque ut res omnes suis principijs exorsae per seriem ad calcem perducerentur: ne qua lector in difficile alioquin arte confusione circumagat: scriptorisque magis ineptia quam rerum obscuritate laboret.” Gaffurius, *Practica* (1496), sig. π4r–π4v.

Milanese patrician and member of the Knights Hospitaller.⁴⁵ In the dedication, Gaffurius explains his rationale for its publication:

Now to be sure, since the publication in the Latin language, as was fitting and proper, of the *Theorica* and *Practica* and also the *Instrumentorum harmonia*, I have composed by request a work on the same subject in the vernacular, to the end that those who have not learned letters [i.e., do not read Latin] may be able to derive some profit from the work I have done.⁴⁶

Sixteen years prior, in 1492, his student Francesco Caza published at Milan the *Tractato vulgare de canto figurato*, an abridged Italian translation of the *Practica*.⁴⁷ Caza's little-studied *Tractato* also furnishes one of the earliest overt examples of advertising in Renaissance books about music, as it appeared four years before the work it abridged. Thus, one might interpret the *Tractato* as advance marketing for the *Practica*, a book that came to earn a place of honor on the bookshelves of musicians for the next century and a half (see appendix three).

Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563)

Glarean was born in the town of Mollis, in the Swiss canton of Glarus.⁴⁸ As a young child, he expressed a fascination with musical practice. In 1506, he enrolled in the University of Cologne as a student of philosophy and theology. He later added music to his course of study, which

⁴⁵ For the Crotto family at Milan, see Bonelli and Vittani, *Archivio storico lombardo*, 285. On 13 January 1501, Crotto was appointed prior of the *monte di pietà* (a charitable organization) in Milan; Calvi, *Vicende del monte di pietà in Milano*, 168.

⁴⁶ Young, introduction to Gaffurius, *Practica* (1969), xxxi–xxxii (adapted). “Nunc vero cum post editam latino (ut decebat) sermone musices theoricam & practicam: nec non Instrumentorum harmonium: rogatus lingua vulgari opusculum in eadem facultate composuerim: quatenus qui litteras minus didicere: proficere nonnihil industria nostra possunt.” Gaffurius, *Angelicum*, sig. A4v.

⁴⁷ For a facsimile and German translation, see Caza, *Tractato vulgare de canto figurato* (1922).

⁴⁸ The most recent biographical treatment of Glarean is Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s World.” See also Miller, introduction to Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1965), 1–34; and Miller, “The *Dodecachordon*.” For perspectives on his works, see Fuller, “Defending the *Dodecachordon*”; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 117–76; Mengozzi, “Between Rational Theory and Historical Change”; Westendorf, “Glareanus’ *Dodecachordon*”; and the numerous essays in Fenlon and Groote, *Heinrich Glarean’s Books*.

supplemented his practical knowledge of music with its origins in Boethian number theory. His music professor at Cologne was Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552), who also provided extracurricular instruction in musical practice. Cochlaeus, a then-recent recipient of the BA (1504) and MA (1507) degrees from the University of Cologne, would go on to confront Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521.⁴⁹ In 1512, Glarean performed for Maximilian I (1459–1519) a song that he composed in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor. Glarean recounts this tale in his treatise on music, the *Dodecachordon* (1547):

[The Dorian mode] is very suitable for heroic poetry, as I have myself experienced at one time as a youth in Cologne in the presence of the celebrated Kaiser Maximilian and many princes, not without the reward of the merited laurel branch (which is said without boasting).⁵⁰

The emperor, in addition bestowing a laurel wreath, placed a ring on Glarean's finger and named him poet laureate of the Holy Roman Empire—all at the age of twenty-four. Glarean's awareness of the significance of this moment is signaled by the qualification that his narration of the event is “said without boasting” (“absit verbo invidia”).

In 1514, Glarean moved to Basel to direct a boarding school for young boys. While there, he made the acquaintance of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), the celebrated Dutch humanist, theologian, and one of the most noted writers of the Renaissance.⁵¹ Erasmus became a steady friend and trusted advisor to Glarean. In 1516, Glarean followed Erasmus to Paris and enrolled in the university. There he expanded his network of friends and correspondents. Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), the French humanist and scholar, facilitated his access to the French royal court.

⁴⁹ Schrade, “Johannes Cochlaeus.”

⁵⁰ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1965), 156. “[Dorius] heroicis carminibus aptissimus, quod ipse olim iuvenis coràm Maxaemyliano inclyto Caesare expertus sum Agrippinae in praesentia multorum principum, non absque merita lauri (absit verbo invidia) praemio.” Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 118.

⁵¹ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 82–88 examines Erasmus's career as a public author.

Through an interpreter, Glarean conversed with Jean Mouton (c. 1459–1522), the principal composer for the royal court. He also befriended the theologian and scholar, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1460–1536), formerly a professor of mathematics at the University of Paris whose *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496), became a standard work in the university curriculum (see chapter three).

In 1519, Glarean returned to Basel and resumed teaching. Basel was a central hub in the European book trade, and Glarean cultivated ties with two of the city's distinguished printing houses, those of Johann Froben and Heinrich Petri. In 1517, Glarean was mentioned several times in the infamous collection of satirical letters, the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. In one letter (quoted at the end of chapter three), Glarean is depicted in the company of heretics in the Froben printing shop. Even a whiff of reformed theology, such as in this satirical, fictional account, was enough to ruin a promising career like Glarean's. Troubled by Basel's increasing embrace of Protestantism, Glarean moved in 1529 to Freiburg im Breisgau, where he became a professor of poetry and theology. He settled there into a steady routine of teaching, research, and writing. The 1530s and 1540s were an extraordinarily productive period for Glarean, witnessing the publication of over 120 editions of his works.

Glarean was a man of bookish learnedness. A contemporary portrait of Glarean appears in the margins of a copy of Erasmus's *Encomium moriae* owned by his friend Oswald Myconius (1488–1552).⁵² This famous exemplar includes numerous pen sketches by the German artist Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497–1543)—another mutual friend of Erasmus, Myconius, and Glarean; Holbein also contributed the elegant title-page woodcut for Glarean's first book about

⁵² Fenlon, "Confessional Companions," 316–17 is the most extended discussion of this portrait in the musicological literature. For a facsimile of the entire book, see Erasmus, *Encomium moriae* (1931).

Figure A1.4. Portrait of Heinrich Glarean. Ink sketch by Hans Holbein the Younger in the margins of Oswald Myconius's copy of Desiderius Erasmus, *Encomium moriae* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1515), sig. N1v. Copy at Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inventory no. 1662.166; reproduced from Erasmus, *Encomium moriae* (1931).



music, *Isagoge in musicen* (1516). The portrait of Glarean (figure A1.4) appears humorously next to Erasmus's discussion of the follies of the poet. Glarean is depicted in a hooded robe with a book open in his hands. He walks forward but gazes absentmindedly at his book. In fitting with the subject of the folly, Holbein portrays Glarean as disheveled, his expression nonplussed; what appears to be a fool's cap hangs behind his head atop the robe.

A significant amount of evidence survives concerning how Glarean used the books he owned. After his death, Glarean's library of some 6,000 volumes passed to several individuals and institutions; today, at least 108 volumes survive at D-Mu and another twelve at other

European libraries.⁵³ The books about music that Glarean owned are, for the most part, the usual suspects: two editions of Boethius's complete works, one edited by himself (1546), and an earlier Venetian edition (1497–1499); Johannes Cochlaeus, *Musica* (1507); Johannes Froschius, *Rerum musicarum opusculum* (1535); and Gaffurius, *Practica* and *De harmonia*. Unlike Zarlino's books (see below), many of these contain important annotations. Cristle Collins Judd has examined Glarean's copy of Gaffurius's *Practica*, showing how Glarean attempted to square his own theories with the authority of Gaffurius and how he incorporated Gaffurius's musical examples into his own writings.⁵⁴

Also present was Glarean's library is a collection of various theoretical manuscripts compiled during the thirteenth century (now at D-Mu, shelfmark 8° Cod. Ms. 375).⁵⁵ In the margins of this manuscript, Glarean added a significant number of annotations, including subject keywords, cross-references, and corrections to misconceptions about ancient sources. The most heavily-annotated section is a copy of Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* (pp. 82–124), which Glarean marked up with headlines naming the author and work, subject keywords, identifications of unnamed authorities, and, most importantly, labels for each part and chapter (highlighted to a lesser degree by the scribe of the manuscript). In this respect, Glarean appears to have adapted the manuscript to suit his own needs as a reader. I suggest here that these annotations greatly aided Glarean's use of Guido's work when composing the *Dodecachordon*—citations to Guido's *Micrologus* are frequent. Such annotations not only recorded Glarean's thoughts on Guido's

⁵³ Inventoried in Fenlon and Groote, "Heinrich Glarean's Books," 313–34. For the provenance of Glarean's library, see Fenlon and Groote, "Heinrich Glarean's World," 36–37.

⁵⁴ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 122 and 163, with facsimile reproductions of Glarean's annotations on 124 and 164.

⁵⁵ For the contents and dating of this manuscript, see Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften*, 98–100.

ideas, but also helped to excavate and clarify their structure hidden in the manuscript's manner of visual presentation.

For Glarean, manuscripts and printed books appear to have coexisted uneasily. Manuscripts protected treasures waiting to be discovered by new readers eager to decipher their mysteries. In the preface of the *Dodecachordon*, Glarean describes a trip to St. George's Abbey in the Black Forest, where, at the instigation of the abbot Johannes Kern, he read one particular collection of writings in manuscript:⁵⁶

In his [Kern's] care was a codex that contained various treatises on all branches of knowledge, an *encyclopedia*, as the Greeks say. In it were five books about music by St. Severinus [Boethius], beside some by Guido d'Arezzo, Berno [of Reichenau], Wilhelm [of Hirschau], Odo [of Arezzo], Theogerus the Bishop [of Metz], and John, later pope, XXII. I cannot deny that I have been made more venturesome through these books, especially through the Boethian works, which heretofore I had had in an imperfect condition, but which at that place in one way or another I found in a purified state.⁵⁷

The purity of ancient knowledge in manuscript contrasted the imperfections of the printed page. Such corruptions extended, unfortunately, to Glarean's own works. Writing in his own personal copy of the *Dodecachordon*, Glarean disclaims responsibility for the accuracy of the edition:

Among these errors, which may be seen noted in our hand, many are likewise inexcusable. So little shame the people had who put this volume to press, even though they had a copy corrected very carefully by author himself. An evil spirit

⁵⁶ For this episode, see Miller, "The *Dodecachordon*," 159–60; and Fenlon and Groote, "Heinrich Glarean's Books," 308.

⁵⁷ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1965), 40 (adapted). "Apud quem codex erat, qui omnium scientiarum tractatus varios habebant, ἐγκυκλοπαιδῶν vocant Graeci. Inerant quinque Divi Severini volumina de Musicis: Praeterea Guidonis Aretini quaedam, Bernonis, Vuilehelmi, Othonis, Theogeri Episcopi, et Ioannis qui postea Pontifex Max. XXI eius nominis fuit. Per eos libros audaciorem me factum, maxime per Boëthiana opera, quae apud me ante manca fuerant, ibi utcumque emaculata." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a3v. The identity of these writers is considered in Holford-Strevens, "Humanism and the Language of Music Treatises."

was flitting about in order to prevent this work, published to the glory of God, the best and highest of all, from coming into people's hands in a more correct state.⁵⁸

From this perspective, Glarean's assessment of printing technology's utility might have been colored by his perception of the reliability of printers. This might explain why he went to such lengths to send copies corrected in his own hand to his most important readers, a subject explored at length in a recent study by Bernhard Kölbl.⁵⁹

Glarean's books of music also shaped his approach to composing the *Dodecachordon*. Among Glarean's library was a set of four partbooks of motets in manuscript (D-Mu, shelfmark 8° Cod. ms. 322–325). The partbooks contain annotations in Glarean's hand indicating authorial and modal attributions to each composition. In a virtuosic analysis of the collection, Judd demonstrates that most of the motets were selected from Petrucci's *Motetti A* (RISM 1502¹) and *Motetti B* (RISM 1503¹); and that the partbooks served as the copy-texts for the printer of the *Dodecachordon*, Heinrich Petri.⁶⁰ Glarean's manuscript partbooks demonstrate a common, yet seemingly inverted pattern of transmission, from Petrucci's prints to Glarean's manuscripts. From his manuscripts, Glarean could study these motets without defacing expensive and rapidly-aging copies of Petrucci's prints.⁶¹ The manuscripts also allowed Glarean to curate works from several sources, arranging them to suit his needs and to facilitate maximal comprehension. As

⁵⁸ Schreurs, "The *Topstukkendecreet*," 378 (adapted). The confused syntactical structure is present in the Latin: "In ipsis erratis multa quoque male excusa sunt, quae manu nostra notata visuntur. Adeo nihil pudit eos, qui volumen hoc excuderunt, cum emendatissimum ipsius authoris, exemplar habuerint. Ita permeante maligno spiritu qui opus hoc ad Dei Opt. Max.que honorem editum impediret, quo ne emendatius in hominum manus perveniret." Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547) at B-Ac, shelfmark TH 100306, inside back cover. A similar annotation appears in a copy of the same at US-Wcm, shelfmark ML171 .G54 case, back flyl. 4v. Glarean's comments on the printing of his treatise are discussed further in chapter three.

⁵⁹ Kölbl, "The Politics of Dedication."

⁶⁰ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 141–50. I leave aside in this discussion the so-called Tschudi partbooks, which are a further layer of mediation between the editions of Petrucci and Glarean.

⁶¹ Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 331–36.

Judd notes, the manuscript partbooks afforded a deeper sense of ownership of their contents: “Physical possession of the material object was far less significant than the intellectual possession of the wealth of material acquired and ready for (re)use in the manuscript entries obtained from printed books.”⁶²

I would highlight the central role that manuscripts assumed in this entire process of mediating between the prints of Petrucci and Glarean. Once the manuscript partbooks had been compiled and thoroughly studied, a second process of curation occurred; from these partbooks, Glarean selected ten of the nineteen motets for inclusion in the *Dodecachordon*. The process involved was one of sifting, a gradual discernment of the best exempla for his modal categories. While Judd rightly notes that such extensive consumption of printed music was only possible with the advent of printing technology, Glarean’s thinking and writing manifested itself in a context that placed trust primarily in manuscripts. Moreover, I would highlight the importance of selection and curation in Glarean’s navigation of an expansive sea of repertory. Judd places the manuscript partbooks within an Erasmian context in which exempla proliferate for the sake of variety or mere collection. But Glarean, in his manuscripts and in his writings, emphasizes the choiceness of his exemplars. In fact, Glarean criticizes Gaffurius for mindless collection, for failing to select only the most apt examples: “It is very apparent not only from this book [Gaffurius’s *De harmonia*] but also from his *Practica musicae* that he does not know more than seven modes. He has collected things from various writers, both Latin and Greek, but they are not helpful in the matter.”⁶³ Glarean also criticized Gaffurius at the end of part one of the

⁶² Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 155.

⁶³ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1965), 130 (adapted). “Neque ille ultra septem recte nouit, quod cum ex eo opere, tum ex activa ipsius Musica plane apparet. Et quae ex varijs authoribus cum latinis tum Graecis collegit, negotium nihil adiuuant, ut priore quoque libro attestati sumus.” Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 92.

Dodecachordon, forgiving Gaffurius's ignorance of the twelve modes, but censuring his mindless addition of source material:

This is strong evidence that Franchinus, so that he would not appear to have neglected any common knowledge through ignorance, thought it sufficient to have shown the reader in some way the names which he saw so frequently among authors and which he could not explain himself, as something almost to be regarded as lost, which no one in posterity would understand...Meanwhile we warn the reader that any remarkable heaping together of names changes nothing in regard to the nature of the modes.⁶⁴

Such statements intimate that Glarean selected his own examples more carefully than Gaffurius did. This process of selection is attested amply in the complex material genesis of the *Dodecachordon*: Glarean wrote his own book in manuscript, using as sources both printed books, native manuscripts, and printed books copied in manuscript. The issue of the materiality of texts adds a new layer of depth to Judd's argument about intellectual context of Glarean's *Dodecachordon*.

Vicente Lusitano (c. 1520–after 1561)

Lusitano was born around 1520 in Olivenza, Portugal (now in Spain).⁶⁵ Archival documents refer to him as a “homem pardo,” a term given to children of parents of different ethnicities; on this basis, Giuliana Gialdroni argues that his father was Portuguese and his mother was an African slave.⁶⁶ As a teenager, he received musical training from Pero Bruxel, appointed in 1534

⁶⁴ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1965), 101–102. “Quod ingens argumentum est Franchinum, quae apud authores tam frequentia viderit, nec ipse explicare potuerit, ne ignorantia praeteriisse tam vulgata videretur, rem prope deploratam, et quam nemo in posterum intellecturus esset, utcunque Lectori indicasse satis esse ratum.” Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 63.

⁶⁵ This section relies heavily on Mastrocola, “Vicente Lusitano.” For other biographical perspectives on Lusitano, see Barbosa, *Vicentius Lusitanus*; Gialdroni, introduction to Lusitano, *Introduttione facilissima* (1989), vii–xiii; and Stevenson, “Vicente Lusitano.”

⁶⁶ Gialdroni, introduction to Lusitano, *Introduttione facilissima* (1989), viii.

by Jaime de Lencastre (d. 1568), the Bishop of Ceuta, to oversee the liturgy of the Iglesia de Santa María Magdalena at Olivenza. Around 1545, Jaime, a member of a prominent Portuguese noble family, ordained Lusitano a priest. Lusitano dedicated his first publication, a collection of Latin motets titled *Liber primus epigramatum* (Rome, 1551), to Dom Dinis de Lencastre (d. 1598), a distant nephew of Jaime. Robert M. Stevenson argues that Lusitano was in the service of the Lencastre family, specifically Dinis's father Dom Afonso de Lencastre (d. 1569).⁶⁷ Lusitano appears to have followed Afonso to Rome in 1550, when he was appointed Portuguese ambassador to the pope.

While at Rome, Lusitano sought new patrons and career prospects, perhaps even in the Papal Chapel. That he attained this lofty goal seems unlikely, given that Lusitano is not recorded in any of the chapel records, nor is he referred to in this way by Danckerts, a member of the chapel who would have been eager to acknowledge a colleague. Lusitano certainly did cultivate relationships with members of Roman musical elite, facilitated in large part by the publication of his music by the Dorico firm (see chapter two). His *Introduttione facilissima* (1553) is dedicated to Marcantonio II Colonna (1535–1584), a member of the prominent Roman patrician family who fought with the Spanish in the Medici-led Siege of Siena (1553–1554) and served as an admiral during the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Based on the wording of the dedication, Giordano Mastrocola argues that Lusitano already was in Marcantonio's service in 1553.⁶⁸ This is intimated further by Lusitano's connection to the composer Giovanthomaso Cimello (c. 1510–1579), who contributed a prefatory poem in Lusitano's honor to the *Liber primus epigramatum* and who was in the service of both Marcantonio and his mother Giovanna d'Aragona (1502–

⁶⁷ Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 83–85. For genealogies of the Lencastre family, see Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, 330 and 357.

⁶⁸ Mastrocola, "Vicente Lusitano," 80–81.

1575).⁶⁹ In the years after his victory in the debate with Vicentino (about which more presently), Lusitano travelled throughout the Italian peninsula as a private music teacher, settling for a time in Viterbo and Padua. Lusitano's teaching provided a ready audience for and sustained interest in reprints of the *Introduttione facilissima* (1558 and 1561). Given the identical xylographic material used in all three editions of the *Introduttione*, Lusitano himself likely instigated these reprints, which might have served as a calling card for prospective patrons.

In 1561, Lusitano converted to Protestantism in order to marry.⁷⁰ Given that he was an ordained Catholic priest, this necessitated a move toward a less orthodox region. He angled initially for an appointment to the protestant court of Christoph, Duke of Württemberg (1515–1568) at Stuttgart. Although the court remitted payment for some compositions Lusitano sent, he was not offered a court position. In May 1561, Lusitano entered the service of Duke Christoph's one-time employee Giulio da Thiene (1501–1589), the protestant count of Vicenza. At the time of Lusitano's appointment, Giulio was in exile, dividing his time between Geneva and Strasbourg. There are no further traces of Lusitano's life after 1561. Lusitano probably abandoned the toponym "Lusitano" ("of Portugal") in his later career, which has frustrated attempts to discern his activities through archival sources. Barbosa hypothesized that Lusitano settled later on in France and that traces of his life are to be found under a different name in as-yet-unidentified French archives.⁷¹ Mastrocola extends this argument by suggesting that Lusitano

⁶⁹ Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 73.

⁷⁰ Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, 15–48 reproduces relevant archival documents and contextualizes growing protestant sentiment at Padua. See also Mastrocola, "Vicente Lusitano," 95–107.

⁷¹ Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, 28.

sent his works to France, where they ended up in the library of Philippe Desportes (1546–1606).⁷²

In 1551, during the months of May and June, Lusitano debated with Nicola Vicentino over the ancient Greek genera at Rome.⁷³ This seminal event in history of Renaissance music theory is considered intensively in chapters two through four. I offer the following narration of the debate to establish a basic context for the discussions in the previous chapters and as a means of highlighting the role of printing technology in Lusitano's life. The disagreement began after a performance of a polyphonic "Regina caeli" at the palazzo of Bernardo Acciaiuoli-Rucellai along the Tiber River. In chapter two, I argue, following Stevenson, that this was Lusitano's setting of the text, published in the same year in the *Liber primus epigramatum*. Lusitano maintained that the composition was in the diatonic genus, Vicentino that the composition was not. They agreed to settle the disagreement in a public debate, each wagering two gold scudi.⁷⁴ The specifics of the subsequent events of the debate are cloudy; we have firsthand testimony from both Danckerts and Vicentino in their respective treatises.⁷⁵ Both testimonies are riddled with internal inconsistencies and contradict each other. Whether, as Danckerts maintained, this occurred out of malice or, more plausibly, from faulty recollection remains uncertain. The established outline of the events are as follows. On Tuesday, 2 June and Thursday, 4 June, Lusitano and Vicentino gathered in the presence of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, his retinue, and

⁷² Mastrocola, in Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 122.

⁷³ The best documentary accounts of the debate are Mastrocola, "Vicente Lusitano," 58–78; Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 22–32; Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Musica* (1996), xvii–xxii; and Barbosa, *Vicentius Lusitanus*, 183–326.

⁷⁴ Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), xv–xvi notes that Palestrina's monthly salary as *maestro di cappella* of the Cappella Giulia was six gold scudi.

⁷⁵ Danckerts, I-Rv, Ms. R56, part one (in all three drafts); and Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95r–98v; cf. Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 302–314.

the papal choir to sign a warrant (“cedola”) affirming the terms of the debate and to sign written depositions (“informationi”) outlining their arguments. On Sunday, 7 June, Lusitano and Vicentino presented oral arguments at the Apostolic Chapel in front of the judges, the papal choir, and a large public assembly. Very quickly the judges realized that the debate would not be settled by disputation, imploring the litigants instead to submit their depositions into evidence. The parties agreed, read their depositions to the gathering, and surrendered them to the judges. Deliberations were brief. That same day, the judges drafted the sentence and delivered it to Ippolito, who read it before the assembly: Lusitano was acclaimed the winner and Vicentino was ordered to forfeit his two gold scudi.

The sentence incensed Vicentino, inspiring him to write in great detail about it in *L’antica musica* (1555). Vicentino complained that Lusitano’s presentation of his argument in the deposition was significantly longer than the brief abstract requested by the judges—the proximate cause, he argued, for his losing the debate. It is true that Lusitano’s deposition included a lengthy quotation from Boethius, an ever-reliable authority on musical concerns, whereas Vicentino’s was a simple précis of his argument that merely namedropped Boethius. Vicentino imputes ungentlemanly conduct on the part of Lusitano, suggesting that Lusitano wrote out his deposition after learning the contents of Vicentino’s. Vicentino further alleged that Ippolito—his longtime and loyal patron—chastised Lusitano for a smug attitude in the face of an obviously-unjust verdict. Adding insult to injury, Vicentino correctly noted that Lusitano reversed his position in his chapter on the genera in his *Introduttione* (1553), adopting the exact opinion that Vicentino himself espoused. In *L’antica musica*, Vicentino quoted this chapter by Lusitano, showing point by point how Lusitano abandoned his earlier position to avoid the embarrassment of appearing wrong. Throughout his narration of the debate and its aftermath,

Vicentino emphasized the correctness of his transcriptions of the documentary evidence: “The arguments...and sentence are copied faithfully below without the fraudulent subtraction or addition of a single word. Indeed, they are copied down to the last period from the authentic copy made by the judges.”⁷⁶

In his manuscripts, Danckerts, a stickler for accuracy, excoriated Vicentino for altering several minor details in *L'antica musica*. The most vexatious was Vicentino's addition of the word “simple” (“semplice”) to his deposition (see chapter two). Danckerts claimed that this addition disingenuously altered his position, changing his original assertion that modern music was not in the diatonic genus, to the assertion that modern music was not simply in the diatonic genus.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Danckerts presents a different view of Vicentino's basic argument: “no composer of music knows the genus of the music that he himself composed.”⁷⁸ From this perspective, the sentence seems cut-and-dried in Lusitano's favor. Against Vicentino's claim, Lusitano's deposition clearly defined the genera and how they applied to modern music. Indeed, Vicentino argues against this construal of his own point; his deposition ends with the flat assertion that “the music we sing today is a mixture of the three genera rather than purely diatonic, as Messer Vicente Lusitano avers.”⁷⁹ From Danckerts's point of view, Vicentino argued against himself by identifying the genera used in modern music. But this understands only a part

⁷⁶ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 304–305. “le ragioni...& la sententia, sono qui sotto copiate fidatamente senza fraude ne di diminuire, ne di augmentare alcuna parola, ne pur di un punto di più, ne di meno, copiate dalla copia autentica, fatta dalli sopradetti Giudici.” Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95v.

⁷⁷ For a comparison of Vicentino's and Danckerts's texts, see Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), xx–xxi.

⁷⁸ “niun Musico Compositore intende, di che Genere sia la Musica che esso istesso compone.” I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 384r.

⁷⁹ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 305. “la Musica che noi cantiamo è mista de i tre Generi, et non è Diatonica semplice, come dice M. Vincentio Lusitano.” Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 95v.

of Vicentino's argument. *L'antica musica* makes clear that Vicentino was unable in the deposition to articulate the broader significance of his argument, which required an essential redefinition of the genera and their reckoning in polyphonic music. To judge from what little remains of Lusitano's and Vicentino's oral and written arguments, each party presented a distinctive and nonetheless theoretically-consistent interpretation of the ancient Greek genera. Lusitano won because his argument played to common understandings of the genera and quoted the authority of Boethius. Vicentino lost because his argument called for a bold revision of terminology and concepts that exceeded the discursive constraints of a brief memorandum and of oral disputation.

Lusitano was strangely silent on the debate in the flurry of writings that issued in its wake. He won the debate already and stood nothing to gain by crowing about it; indeed, litigating the dispute in print was bound to backfire. In chapter two, I show that Lusitano took great lengths to ensure that Vicentino did not publish the sentence, even though it was in Lusitano's favor. I argue that, even before the debate began, Lusitano orchestrated a complex publishing strategy to bolster his professional standing. This began with the publication of his motets, including the "Regina caeli" setting that may have precipitated the debate. He then parlayed his victory in the debate into the publication of his treatise. For Lusitano, publication does not appear to have been a commercial or professional end in itself. Rather, his publications dovetailed with events that took place outside the pages of books with real professional and economic advantages; the motet print culminated in the debate, and the treatise culminated in his career as a traveling teacher. Lusitano never wrote directly and publicly about the debate, publishing only two short pages on the ancient Greek genera that reversed his opinion. As Vicentino noted, Lusitano's language on the subject is noncommittal and confusing; furthermore,

the subject is unrelated to the didactic purpose of the treatise as a whole, which focuses on the basics of singing and improvised counterpoint.

Throughout this affair, Lusitano took several steps to protect his work. I examine in chapter two the privilege that Pope Julius III granted to Lusitano to protect the *Liber primus epigramatum*. Its unusual provisions gave Lusitano one important advantage after the debate. Given Vicentino's propensity for quotation, and if indeed Lusitano's "Regina caeli" was the composition that sparked the debate, then the privilege prevented Vicentino from reprinting and discussing the motet in *L'antica musica*. Publication formed only one component of a larger agenda to advance Lusitano's professional standing; that is, unlike Tigrini and other writers, he never sought patronage directly in his publications. Rather, he sought positions and preferment through his personal connections and through intermediaries. His service to Dom Afonso de Lencastre at Rome resulted from his association with Afonso's relatives at Portugal. Lusitano's attempt to secure a post at the court at Württemberg took place through the intercession of a friend, Pier Paolo Vergerio (c. 1498–1565), an exiled, converted papal diplomat in the duke's service.⁸⁰ Books and printing technology thus played an important albeit circumscribed role in Lusitano's professional life.

A little-known autograph manuscript treatise by Lusitano further confirms this point.⁸¹ The Spanish-language manuscript, now at F-Pn, shelfmark ms. Espagnol 219, is a volume in small folio consisting of eighty-five leaves. The treatise consists of three sections on mensuration

⁸⁰ The letter of introduction written by Vergerio on behalf of Lusitano is reproduced and transcribed in Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, 17–23.

⁸¹ First described and transcribed in Collet, *Un tratado de canto organo*. Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano," 76–77 attributed the contents of the manuscript to Lusitano. Mastrocola, in Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 119–20 argues that the work is a Lusitano autograph. Part two of the manuscript is edited and translated into French in Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 135–341.

signs, improvised counterpoint, and mensural proportions and the ancient Greek genera. Part two of the manuscript on improvised counterpoint is the longest and most expansive section (98½ pp. versus 24½ for part one and 45 for part three). Like Danckerts's manuscripts, Lusitano clearly prepared this document for publication, perfecting its language through revisions and adding marginal keywords as an aid to readers. Mastrocola shows that an entire draft of the work must have been completed around the time of the debate in May/June 1551.⁸² Lusitano continued to revise the manuscript after the debate, particularly the end of part three, which touched briefly on the genera. Yet the manuscript never saw the light of day in its complete form. Instead, Lusitano abridged its contents in the Italian-language *Introduttione facilissima*. I suggest that the differences between these two works reveal Lusitano's process of adapting the work for print. The most obvious difference is the change in language from Spanish to Italian; the *Introduttione*, after all, was published at Rome. Also revealing are Lusitano's choices of what to preserve, what to excise, and what to introduce. Lusitano added a brief primer on singing from mensural notation and greatly condensed parts one and two. Of part three, Lusitano preserved only the final chapter on the genera and significantly reduced its scope. In so doing, Lusitano transformed the highly technical manuscript into a more approachable introduction to the subject of counterpoint. (Note that the contrast in discursive approach mirrors the contrast in bibliographical format, folio versus quarto.) Lusitano's approach to adapting the manuscript for publication appears to reveal a keen awareness of his audience's identity, their expectations, and their needs as readers. This in turn might suggest that Lusitano, or at least his editor, was familiar with the conventions and norms of printed books, those nonverbal aspects of presentation that shaped the way readers approached them (see chapter three).

⁸² Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 120.

Oratio Tigrini (1541–1591)

In a recent article, Claudio Santori provides an account of Oratio Tigrini's life pieced together from traces in various archival sources.⁸³ Tigrini's entire career was centered in Arezzo, a Tuscan town southeast of Florence, most known to music historians as the birthplace of the famed medieval music theorist Guido of Arezzo (c. 992–1033). At various points, Tigrini worked for the city's two largest churches, the Chiesa di Santa Maria della Pieve and the Duomo di Arezzo (also called the Cattedrale di Santi Donato e Pietro). He rose from a lowly birth, studying music early on with Paolo Aretino, *maestro di canto* and *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo. The young teenager received financial and in-kind support from the Confraternity of Murello, an association of the Duomo responsible for its seminary and hospital.⁸⁴ Material support from the confraternity included several books, including ones by Terence and Cicero, indicating an early aptitude for scholarship and an appreciation for the classics.

In 1558, at the age of seventeen, he began his career as a singer at the Pieve, where he was ordained a subdeacon in 1561. Beginning in October 1562, Tigrini served as *maestro di canto* at the Duomo, where he taught choirboys the fundamentals of singing and counterpoint.⁸⁵ He was dismissed from his post at the Duomo in April 1571, a result of prolonged conflict with cathedral administrators egged on by musical competitors. After a period of respite in the Aretine countryside at Bagnoro, he began in 1574 an ecclesiastical career, becoming parish priest at the Chiesa di San Giusto (no longer extant). He also served as an officer, then the secretary, and

⁸³ The first three paragraphs of this section rely heavily on Santori, "Le cadenze rapite."

⁸⁴ Signorini, *Arezzo, Città e provincia*, 86.

⁸⁵ For the duties of the *maestro di canto*, see Reardon, "Insegniar la zolfa ai gittarelli," 124.

finally the prior of the Confraternity of Murello. At the same time, he served intermittently as organist at the Pieve.

In 1587, he was reappointed to the Duomo to the dual post of *maestro di canto* and *maestro di cappella*. He thus assumed sole responsibility for overseeing the musical activities at the cathedral for the short remainder of his career. He died, aged fifty-one, at Arezzo, the city of his birth. The death certificate, dated 15 October 1591, indicates that he had been named honorary canon of the Pieve, reflecting prolonged and distinguished service as priest to the Diocese of Arezzo. This was announced proudly on the title page of his *Il compendio della musica*, published in 1588 just after his reinstatement to the Duomo. The death certificate indicates further that he was an Olivetan monk and was buried in the Chiesa di San Bernardo in Arezzo.⁸⁶

In the remainder of this section, I examine for the first time Tigrini's ambitious attempts to secure a more lucrative court post through his musical publications (table A1.3). In short, Tigrini's work for the church was only one component of a multifaceted career and his publications record a perspective on his life apart from the tedium of clerical work. To be sure, his 1579 collection of twenty-nine psalms-settings for four and five voices indicates a sincere religious sentiment. The dedication—dated at Arezzo, 15 July 1579 and addressed to the vicar general of the city (i.e., the principal deputy of the Bishop of Arezzo)—records his progressive attitude toward church music, which he desired to compose “in accordance with the reforms of the Council of Trent, so as to inspire the piety of the faithful.”⁸⁷ This publication marks the

⁸⁶ Santori, “Le cadenze rapite,” 24.

⁸⁷ “iuxta sacri Tridenti Conc. reformationem...quam ad pietatem animi trahantur.” Tigrini, *Musica super psalmos* (1579), sig. A1v. For a full transcription of the dedication see Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, “A Catalogue of Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music.” At this time, the bishop of Arezzo was Stefano Bonucci (1521–1589), who in 1587 was elevated to the position of cardinal to Sixtus V.

Table A1.3 Single-author publications of Oratio Tigrini. All editions published at Venice.

Year	RISM	Title (publisher)	Dedicatee
1573	T790	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci</i> (heirs of Antonio Gardano)	Federico Barbolani dei Conti
1579	T791	<i>Musica super psalmos omnes qui totius anni cursu ad vespras et completiorum decantari solent...cum canticis Beatae Mariae Virgins...liber primus et secundus</i> (Angelo Gardano)	Fabrizio Baccio
1582	T792	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> (Angelo Gardano)	Vincenzo Vitelli
1588	–	<i>Il compendio della musica</i> (Ricciardo Amadino)	Gioseffo Zarlino
1591	T793 ¹	<i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> (Ricciardo Amadino)	Francesco Albergotti Aretino

Notes

¹ Cross-listed in RISM with 1591²⁴, because it contains compositions attributed to three additional composers.

earliest statement of post-Tridentine musical aesthetics by a music theorist, which he would augment later in the *Compendio*.

Tigrini's madrigal publications attest a different, more secular orientation to his professional life. His sacking from the Duomo in 1571 was a protracted affair and his experience with meddling clerics clearly left him hesitant to continue religious work.⁸⁸ Tigrini's madrigal prints offered a chance to pursue a different career path in the courts of the Tuscan aristocracy. The dedications to these prints reveal the targets of his campaign to obtain court appointments and patronage. On the whole, his targets seem logical if conservative choices for prospective patrons. Perhaps, then, they reflect a certain self-consciousness about his own stature within the Italian musical world, not worthy of the largesse of wealthier aristocrats. The choices reflect equally plausibly a preference for less metropolitan locales.

⁸⁸ Santori, "Le cadenze rapite," 19–20.

Tigrini dedicated his first publication, a collection of four-voice madrigals, to Federico Barbolani (1513–1582), member of the Tuscan family that held the hereditary title of Count of Monteauto, a small village outside Arezzo.⁸⁹ Federico served bravely in Cosimo de' Medici's siege of Siena (1554–1555); in June 1557, when the Medici assumed control of Siena, he was rewarded for his service with the command of a garrison in the city. Federico worked his way up the bureaucracy, eventually rising in 1572 to the position of governor of Siena, a position that carried significant respect and administrative responsibility, if little real power.

Tigrini's four-voice madrigals were published during this later period of Federico's life. Outside the steady employ of the church, Tigrini need significant support, especially if he intended to devote himself to composition. An Aretine nobleman working in Tuscany, Federico was an obvious choice for patron. The print's dedication—dated at Venice, 15 April 1573—draws attention to Federico's competent execution of “the many undertakings, all things of importance, and various governances” required by the administration of the city.⁹⁰ At the end of the dedication, Tigrini asked Federico to “find them [the madrigals] worthy of having me under your protection.”⁹¹ Tigrini addresses Federico formulaically as “my most respected patron” (“patron mio osservandissimo”); this is more likely aspirational than real, given that there is no evidence of a patronage relationship. The print thus resembles an audition of sorts for a would-be patron, as there is no evidence of activity by Tigrini outside Arezzo beyond his Venetian publications.

⁸⁹ Cantagalli, “Barbolani, Federigo.”

⁹⁰ “diverse imprese e tutte d'importanza, e in varii governi.” Tigrini, *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (1573), sig. A1v.

⁹¹ “degnandosi tenermi nella sua protetione.” Ibid.

Tigrini dedicated his first book of six-voice madrigals to Vincenzo Vitelli (d. 1583), member of a prominent Umbrian family from the town of Castello (just on the border with Tuscany).⁹² Like the Barbolani, the Vitelli were noted patrons of art and loyally served the Medici through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the time of Tigrini's publication, Vincenzo was the *signore* of Montone and Citerna, small Umbrian villages southeast of Arezzo. Previously, Vincenzo served as general of the pontifical infantry of Gregory XIII, fighting in 1571 against the Turks in the Battle of Lepanto. During a visit to Rome in 1583, Vincenzo was shot and stabbed viciously in the middle of the night, the victim of a longstanding feud between Gregory and the Orsini, a Roman patrician family. The pope awarded an annuity to Vincenzo's grief-stricken family, enabling Vincenzo's young son Francesco (1582–1646) to attain a classical education; he would rise to the position of cardinal and papal ambassador to Venice.

The dedication—dated at Arezzo, 1 March 1582—addresses Vincenzo as “mio signore et padrone osservandissimo,” although it is clear from the remainder of the dedication that he was not in Vincenzo's service, but sought patronage through this publication. Tigrini claims to have composed the madrigals explicitly for Vincenzo: “My musical labors are wont to have written along their neck, as on the rich jewel of the white deer of Caesar, ‘Let none touch me.’”⁹³ The reference here is multilayered. Most immediately, it might refer to Petrarch's invocation of Laura's untouchable beauty, the result of his intense and laborious pining (*Canzoniere*, sonnet 190). This itself refers to the legend of Julius Caesar's stag being found alive three centuries after

⁹² Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia*, 13:n.p; and Muzi, *Memorie civili di Città di Castello*, 2:121ff. For Tigrini's cycle of sonnets by Benedetto Varchi, see Moppi, *Mena le lanche*, 169–70.

⁹³ “mie fatiche Musicali...quali si volli havendo scritto intorno al collo, si come nel ricco monile della candida Cerva di Cesare si vedeva: NESSUNO MI TOCCHI.” Tigrini, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1582), sig. A1v.

Caesar's death, with a collar inscribed "Do not touch me for I am Caesar's."⁹⁴ The inscription hearkens further to the words of Jesus Christ, conflating his exhortations to Mary Magdalene not to touch his resurrected body (John 20:14–17) and to the Pharisees to render to Caesar what is Caesar's (Matthew 22:13–21). The reference seems designed to persuade Vincenzo that these madrigals represent works inspired in his image and truly meant for his possession.

The print opens with "A voi, Vincentio, invio," a madrigal meant to inaugurate the patronage relationship. The poem was a boilerplate honorific text into which any three-syllable name could be inserted; this is the case with "A voi, Londonio, invio" in Pietro Vinci's *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1571 = RISM V1675).⁹⁵ A heading at the beginning of the second madrigal in the print indicates that it is dedicated to Vincenzo's wife, Faustina Vitelli (d. 1584); the text of this madrigal, a popular sonnet by Bembo ("Cantai un tempo, e si fu dolce il canto"), does not refer by name to its honoree.⁹⁶ Both madrigal texts invoke the notion of music acting as an external agent for the text's speaker. I cite the full text of Tigrini's "A voi, Vincentio, invio":

To you, Vincenzo, I send
These my low notes and these high ones
And I beg of your heart's desire
That you deign to defend and protect them
And that you have them sung

⁹⁴ "Noli me tangere Caesaris sum." This legend was first related in Gaius Julius Solinus, *De mirabilis mundi* (c. 250).

⁹⁵ The coincidence extends only to the texts of the madrigals; Tigrini's and Vinci's musical settings are very different.

⁹⁶ Other settings of the sonnet appear in Philippe de Monte, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1569 = RISM M3344); Girolamo Conversi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1584 = RISM C3551); and Sperindio Bertoldo, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1562 = RISM B2129). The best-known setting is of the sonnet's octave only, in Claudio Monteverdi, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1590 = RISM M3456).

So that with your wisdom and favor
They are adorned with grace and splendor.⁹⁷

Vincenzo, like Federico Barbolani, was an obvious choice for a prospective patron, one working near Arezzo but with a sizable network of contacts across Italy. Nonetheless, his overtures to Vincenzo seem to have gone unnoticed, as Galliano Ciliberti has shown that there is no direct evidence of any formal relationship between the two.⁹⁸ It thus remains unclear how Tigrini earned a living during this period without a church appointment.

Tigrini's final publication, a second book of six-voice madrigals, is dedicated to Francesco Albergotti, member of a prominent Aretine family.⁹⁹ Little is known about Francesco's life except that he was elected to the Medici-created Order of Saint Stephen in 1589.¹⁰⁰ The print brings together Tigrini's madrigals and those by three other composers working in Arezzo: Gioseffo Apolloni (fl. 1591–1607), Tiberio Rivolti (fl. 1574–1580), and Oratio Peccatori (about whom nothing is known except the toponym "Aretino" assigned in the print). Although the publication would seem to be a joint venture among the four composers, Tigrini makes no mention of the others in the dedication, dated at Arezzo, 1 February 1591. Tigrini promises Francesco that "if God and my bad luck grant it, I am most eager to offer you on a different day another present worthy of Your Excellency."¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ "A Voi Vincentio invio / Queste mie basse note & questo canto / Et vi prego de cor come desio / Vi degnate di far lor scudo et manto / Et di tenerle a canto / Accio col vostro lume & col favore / Sian de vaghezza ornate & di splendore." Tigrini, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1582), 1.

⁹⁸ Ciliberti, "Il mecenatismo musicale."

⁹⁹ Benigni et al., *Gli Albergotti*.

¹⁰⁰ Araldi, *L'Italia nobile nelle sue città*, 165.

¹⁰¹ "se Iddio, & la mia bassa fortuna lo mio concederanno, farle forse un giorno altro presente degno di lei, e piu conforme al desiderio mio." Tigrini, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1591), sig. A1v.

Tigrini addresses Francesco, as in his previous madrigal prints, as “patron mio osservandissimo.” The text of the dedication is particularly striking. Tigrini claims that, in spite of the various self-serving reasons that motivate authors’ dedications, he was moved to do so in admiration of Francesco’s Christ-like splendor. Unlike his other dedications, Tigrini repeatedly emphasizes his own unworthiness of Francesco’s favor—whether this is sycophantic or sincere is not clear, although it appears more strongly in this dedication than in his others. It seems unlikely, however, that Tigrini sought patronage for himself with this publication. By this time, he had returned to work at the Duomo and had risen within the ecclesiastical orbit of Arezzo, at this point the See of the Diocese of Tuscany.

The most likely explanation for the dedication to Francesco is that Tigrini used the print to obtain patronage for the other composers represented in the volume, Apolloni, Rivolti, and Peccatori. By all appearances, these composers seem to have been Tigrini’s pupils or disciplines, and it makes sense that he might leverage his status to help his students get a professional start. The continuing association of Tigrini and his circle, on the one hand, with members of the Albergotti family, on the other hand, suggests that Tigrini’s strategy paid off. Apolloni succeeded Tigrini at the Duomo and later dedicated the first publication of his own music to Francesco’s younger and better-known relative, Girolamo Albergotti (elected both to the Order of Saint Stephen in 1613 and to the Knights Hospitallers in 1659).¹⁰² Rivolti, a trombonist, later became *maestro di cappella* at the Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, despite a rocky relationship with the Sienese civil and ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Fenlon, “Apolloni, Gioseffo.” Apolloni’s publication dedicated to Girolamo Albergotti is *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (1600 = RISM A1290). For Girolamo’s chivalric career, see Araldi, *L’Italia nobile nelle sue città*, 165–66.

¹⁰³ Reardon, “Insegniar la zolfa ai gittatelli,” 123–27. Rivolti also appears as a minor character throughout D’Accone, *The Civic Muse*.

Considered overall, Tigrini's publication strategies typify those of sixteenth-century musicians seeking to garner patronage or to elevate their status. But Tigrini, somewhat like Lusitano, reaped only indirect benefits of having his music published. His periodic presence as an organist at the Pieve suggests that he did not secure continuing patronage from the dedicatees of his prints; whether he received in-kind or one-off payments remains to be ascertained. Yet the steady publication of his music surely helped to improve his professional reputation within the local sphere of Arezzo and ultimately contributed to his rehiring at the Duomo. A further possibility is that Tigrini in fact did secure patronage from these dedicatees in the form of one-time subventions for these prints.

In 1588, Tigrini published at Venice his treatise on the art of counterpoint, *Il compendio della musica*. At face value, the *Compendio* is a redaction of parts three and four of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558). On a deeper level, though, the treatise collates Zarlino's writings with related passages by other music theorists ranging from Boethius and Guido to contemporaries such as Vicente Lusitano and Nicola Vicentino. Tigrini's printed citations demonstrate Zarlino's unacknowledged debt to the works of earlier Italian music theorists, especially Franchinus Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* (1496), Pietro Aaron's *Toscanello in musica* (1523), and Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555).¹⁰⁴ In chapters two and four, I examine these printed marginalia in greater detail, showing how Tigrini's treatise resulted from a process known as extensive reading and provided its own readers with a helpful textual aid. Part three of the *Compendio* includes an extended section of sample cadences in each mode for four, five, and six voices, which were reproduced without

¹⁰⁴ Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 249 notes the similarity between Tigrini's and Vicentino's treatises.

attribution in Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).¹⁰⁵

In chapter three, I show how these cadences challenged the abilities of its printer, Ricciardo Amadino, and how the *Compendio* helped to popularize the use of scores in counterpoint manuals.

The treatise contains extensive front matter that sheds further light on Tigrini's circle of intellectual acquaintances. The book opens with Tigrini's dedication to Zarlino, followed by a highly unusual response from the dedicatee that expresses gratitude for the "laurel crown" ("corona di Lauro") that Tigrini has bestowed on him. There follow several poems composed in Tigrini's honor, poems which have yet to be examined by scholars. The authors of these poems place Tigrini in a slightly different intellectual context than his madrigals, although it remains unclear exactly how well these writers knew Tigrini. Lodovico Panzani (fl. 1588–1609) was a priest at the Chiesa di San Tomà at Venice.¹⁰⁶ Several turns of phrase in Panzani's poems make sly references to Tigrini's madrigals that suggest he knew Tigrini personally (e.g., "al caldo al gielo," a reference to no. 4 of the first book of six-voice madrigals, and "che mentre il Sole," a reference to no. 12 of his second book of six-voice madrigals, which had yet to be published). Luca Guadagnoli (fl. 1587–1588), a poet at Arezzo, also probably knew Tigrini personally; his poem thanks Tigrini for helping him to learn how harmonies may be better formed ("Imparando da voi come i concerti / Formar possin migliori").¹⁰⁷ Paolo Bozi (c. 1550–c. 1628) was a Veronese composer, poet, and dramatist, whose clever sonnet seems to refer to Tigrini's

¹⁰⁵ Stevenson, "Morley's Indebtedness to Tigrini"; Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 159–60; and Santori, "Le cadenze rapite."

¹⁰⁶ Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie venete antiche*, 35 notes that on 11 March 1609 Panzani witnessed the last will and testament of one "Presbyter Martinus" from the Tuscan town of San Gimignano.

¹⁰⁷ Guadagnoli published two collections of poetry: *La lagrime di se stesso* (1587) and *Il viaggio de i pastori al santissimo presepio di Christo* (1587).

abandonment of the Gardano firm, which had printed his three earlier publications.¹⁰⁸ This highlights a significant theme in chapter three, the importance of an author's association with the right publisher. Finally, a sonnet by the composer Cesare Accelli (fl. 1586–1588) addresses Tigrini as the “new lawgiver” (“*novus legislator*”) for the subject of music.¹⁰⁹ Tigrini's letter to readers ends with a lengthy list of authorities on the subject of music, discussed in chapter three.

Nicola Vicentino (1511–c. 1576)

Nicola Vicentino was born at Vicenza, a town in the Veneto midway between Venice and Verona.¹¹⁰ His birth year is surmised from the portrait published in his treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), which states his age at the time of publication as forty-four.¹¹¹ Vicentino styled himself as “Don Nicola,” which suggests that he might have been a priest. There are no records to indicate when Vicentino began his religious studies, nor are there traces of his early clerical career.¹¹² Ghiselin Danckerts confirms that Vicentino was a priest by referring to him in his manuscripts as the chaplain (“*capellano*”) to Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Bozi's sonnet begins as follows: “Lascin gl'Orsi li sdegni, e i fier Leoni / L'alta superba lor pongano, homai / Cada al Lupo la rabbia, e i duri guai / Quivi habbian fine, e al devorar perdoni.” The bear and lion (“*orso*” and “*leone*”) were symbols of the Gardano publishing firm. Bozi published at least four plays, a collection of poetry, and several books of madrigals, of which only a five-voice collection and a six-voice collection survive, both labeled *Il secondo libro*. Ricciardo Amadino, the same publisher as Tigrini's treatise and two of his madrigal prints, published several of Bozi's prints.

¹⁰⁹ Accelli only published known five madrigals during his lifetime, which appear in four Venetian collections. Lincoln, “Accelli, Cesare” also suggests that Accelli was connected with Mantuan composers.

¹¹⁰ This biography of Vicentino relies heavily on Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, and Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996).

¹¹¹ Extensive summaries of Vicentino's treatise are given in Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 101–174; Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), xxxvii–li.

¹¹² Maniates, introduction Vicentino, *Ancient Music*, xi notes that he does appear in the 1563 priestly roster of the chapter of Vicenza.

¹¹³ I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 385r.

Vicentino likely began studies with Willaert at Venice during the 1530s. In the dedication to his 1546 print, Vicentino claims that he “spent some time with the divine Adrian Willaert,” which Henry W. Kaufmann takes to mean that his studies concluded well before the print’s publication.¹¹⁴ In 1549, Vicentino was granted a ten-year privilege from the Signory of Venice to print his enharmonic and chromatic compositions. The opening of the privilege helps establish some chronology: “He has given fifteen years to his studies of musical theory and practice and with heavy labors and vigilance has restored to the world the practice of singing and playing the two genera (long ago lost), namely the enharmonic and chromatic.”¹¹⁵ This again would suggest that began his studies of the ancient Greek genera coincided with his studies with Willaert during the mid-1530s.

Vicentino later began a lengthy and fruitful association with the Este court at Ferrara in general, and with Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este (1509–1572) in particular. Many studies have examined the Este family’s considerable and noted patronage of art and music.¹¹⁶ Willaert himself had been in the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este (1479–1520), son of Duke Ercole I d’Este and brother of Isabella d’Este, from 1515 to 1520; Duke Alfonso I d’Este (1476–1534), brother of Ippolito I, from 1520 to 1525; and Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este, son of Alfonso I, from 1525 to 1527.¹¹⁷ In all likelihood, Willaert helped Vicentino to secure the patronage of the Este family.

¹¹⁴ “dispensato alquanto di tempo appresso il divino M. Adriano Vuilaert.” Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1546), sig. A1v. Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 18.

¹¹⁵ “gia anni .15. habbi dato opera agli studij della theoricha et praticha musicale et cū gravissime fatiche et vigilie, ha restituito al mondo la praticha del cantar et sonar de li dui generi (gia tanto tempo persi) cioe henarmonicho et cromaticho.” Agee, “The Privilege,” 222–23. Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 445 translates the privilege in full.

¹¹⁶ One recent study of note is Shephard, *Echoing Helicon*.

¹¹⁷ Lockwood, “Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este.”

Vicentino, despite serving the Ferrarese court at-large, only was in the private employ of Ippolito II. In 1519 (at the age of ten), Ippolito was appointed the Archbishop of Milan; in 1538, Pope Paul III installed him as a cardinal. Furthermore, Ippolito was *papabile* three times, upon the deaths of Paul III (1549), Julius III (1555), Paul IV (1559). Although he failed to attain the papal tiara, after his third attempt, Ippolito became a close confidante of Pius IV (r. 1559–1565) and served as papal liaison to French court and to the Council of Trent. All of these ecclesiastical activities entailed extensive travel, and Vicentino accompanied Ippolito on these trips between Ferrara, Milan, and Rome. While at Ferrara, Vicentino entertained other members of the Este court, including Ippolito's elder brother Duke Ercole II (1508–1559) and Ercole's son Alfonso II (1533–1597). During this time, Vicentino fully fleshed out his system of composition based on the ancient Greek genera. Vicentino gave demonstrations of his strange-sounding compositions during several trips with Ippolito. According to Danckerts, during one such trip to Rome in October 1549, a performance of Vicentino's chromatic music fell apart. His embarrassment was furthered by his requirement that everyone present swear not to reveal the secrets of his art. After the demonstration went south, the audience allegedly mocked his request because it hardly seemed a secret worth keeping, calling him a charlatan.¹¹⁸ By far, the event that shaped Vicentino's life the most was his debate at Rome in 1551 with Vicente Lusitano (summarized above).

Throughout his professional career, Vicentino angled for new and better positions. Vicentino's career strategies are strikingly diverse, taking place through personal networks, public dedications in print, and private petitions in letters. The 1546 madrigal print is dedicated

¹¹⁸ I-Rv, Ms R56, fol. 385v. Further on this episode, see Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 21–22; and Lockwood, "A Dispute on Accidentals"; and Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music*, xv–xvii.

to Countess Lucretia Chiericati, a member of the Vicentine nobility. Jane A. Bernstein speculates Lucretia was the wife of Count Girolamo Chiericati, whose sumptuous villa at Vicenza was designed by the famed architect Andrea Palladio.¹¹⁹ The obsequious language of the dedication reads as a plea for patronage, suggesting that Vicentino sought opportunities beyond the service of Ippolito. Danckerts suggested similarly that the failed performance in 1549 was an audition for the papal chapel, which would compound further Vicentino's embarrassment over its failure.¹²⁰ Vicentino eventually returned to Vicenza as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral there, a position he held between 1563 and 1565. Vicentino's motet print of 1571 is dedicated to Count Lodovico Galerato, a nobleman in the duchy of Milan, who also was the dedicatee of a madrigal print by the Milanese composer and organist Gioseppe Caimo, whose compositions also are noted for their extreme chromaticism.¹²¹ The year prior, in 1570, Vicentino wrote to Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria to request a position there. In the letter, Vicentino claimed to be rector of the Chiesa di San Tomaso in Terramara at Milan; although he did receive a payment from the Bavarian court shortly thereafter, a lasting relationship with the ducal court never materialized.¹²² The variety of career strategies that Vicentino employed is a theme explored throughout chapter two, which considers the ways that authors of books about music leveraged printing technology to achieve professional goals. I argue that the negative public reception of Vicentino's theories

¹¹⁹ Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 340–42. Bolcato, “Don Nicola” indicates more likely that Lucrezi Chiericati was the daughter of Valerio and Elisabetta Pigafetta and wife of Battista Thiene. I am grateful to Tim Carter for pointing me to this latter reference.

¹²⁰ I-Rv, Ms. R56, fol. 385r–385v.

¹²¹ Miller, introduction to Caimo, *Madrigali and Canzoni*, viii.

¹²² A facsimile and translation of the letter appear in Kaufmann, *Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 40–41. Lockwood, “Vincenzo Ruffo,” suggests that Vicentino may have taken up residence in Milan as early as 1565, citing a letter from Carlo Borromeo requesting his agent in Milan to commission a chromatic mass from Vicentino.

Table A1.4. Single-author publications of Nicola Vicentino.

Year	RISM	Title (place, publisher)	Dedicatee
1546	V1414	<i>Del unico Adrian Willaerth discipulo Don Nicola Vicentino madrigali a cinque voci per theorica et pratica da lui composti al nuovo modo dal celeberrimo suo maestro ritrovata: Libro primo</i> (Venice, s.n. [Girolamo Scotto])	Lucrezia Chiericata
1555	–	<i>L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica</i> (Rome, Antonio Barrè)	Ippolito II d'Este
1557	–	[Reissue of <i>L'antica musica</i>] (Rome, Antonio Barrè)	Ippolito II d'Este
1561	–	[<i>Descrizione dell'arciorgano</i>] (Venice, Nicolò Bevilacqua)	–
1571	V1415	<i>Archimusici theorici et pratici...Nicolae Vicentini moteta cum quinque vocibus liber quartus</i> (Milan, Paolo Gottardo Pontio)	Lodovico Galerato
1572	V1416	<i>Madrigali a cinque voci di l'arcimusico don Nicola Vicentino...libro quinto</i> (Milan, Paolo Gottardo Pontio)	Lucilio Cavenago

may have resulted from his failure to adapt sufficiently to the medium of print by presenting an incoherent personal image in different publications.

The idiosyncratic numberings of his publications further indicate his awkward relation to the printed medium. During his lifetime, Vicentino published five single-author works (table A1.4). It has been suggested, on the basis of their titles, that many of Vicentino's publications have been lost or that formally-titled collections circulated in manuscript.¹²³ Although it is likely that some compositions have been lost, I suggest that this might be a misreading of his works' titles. The 1546, 1571, and 1572 books of music are numbered respectively as first, fourth, and fifth. (The 1555 treatise and 1561 broadside are not numbered in any way.) Vicentino's numberings are not connected explicitly to the genres or numbers of voices in the volumes. Many sixteenth-century composers published multiple "first books"; for example, Tigrini

¹²³ Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 96–99.

published both a first book of madrigals for four voices and a first book of madrigals for six voices. In contrast, Vicentino's enumerations might be divorced from the contents of his works: "By a student of the unparalleled Adrian Willaert, Don Nicola Vicentino, madrigals for five voices composed by theory and practice in the new manner discovered by his very celebrated master: A first book."¹²⁴ I propose that Vicentino's enumerations are absolute, like opus numbers, not indications of a burgeoning or ongoing series, as is the case with most other musicians. In this reading, *L'antica musica* and the *Descrizione dell'arciorgano* are the putative *libro secondo* and *libro terzo*—which might suggest that less of Vicentino's music has been lost than previously believed.¹²⁵

Vicentino was an avid reader of contemporary books about music, to judge from the authorities referred to or paraphrased in *L'antica musica* (1555).¹²⁶ Gaffurius, unsurprisingly, was a significant influence, especially his *De harmonia* (1518), which helped to establish the Renaissance preoccupation with ancient Greek music. Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* also informed Vicentino's discussions of counterpoint and composition. Vicentino's theories regarding intonation and ancient music borrow heavily from distinguished two sources, Lodovico Fogliano's *Musica theorica* (Venice, 1529) and Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547). In contrast to Tigrini, Vicentino identifies very few of his contemporary

¹²⁴ "DEL VNICO ADRIAN VVILLAERTH DISCIPVLO | DON NICOLA VICENTINO || MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI PER THEORICA | *et practica da lui compofiti al nuovo modo | dal celeberrimo fuo maestro ritrouato.* || LIBRO PRIMO || *Con gratia & privilegio.* | [printer's device, a burning salamander] | VENETIIS M D XLVI". Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci...libro primo* (1546), sig. a1r. Bernstein, "The Burning Salamander," 489 reproduces this title page in facsimile. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert*, 225–42 considers Vicentino's first book of madrigals at length.

¹²⁵ For transcriptions and commentaries of Vicentino's compositions, see Vicentino, *Opera Omnia*; and Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 49–99.

¹²⁶ This paragraph is indebted to Maniates, introduction to Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), xxv–xxxvi, which surveys Vicentino's source materials.

authorities by name, instead borrowing from them without any attribution or giving attributions to “some authors” or “some people.” Vicentino thus follows what Frans Wiering argues was a prevalent practice in interspersing original material among insights from unnamed predecessors.¹²⁷ Vicentino also withheld the names of authors whose works he mocked, including Danckerts and Lusitano (see chapter two).

Vicentino more frequently cited by name classical and medieval authorities. Vicentino mentions Boethius’s *De institutione musica* over a hundred times; it informs almost all of the last two parts of *L’antica musica*. In a recent study, Grantley McDonald demonstrates that Vicentino borrowed numerous ideas from the works of Plato, St. Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas.¹²⁸ Henry W. Kaufmann has suggested that Vicentino was familiar with Gian Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550), a humanist from the patrician family at Vicenza.¹²⁹ Maria Rika Maniates has argued that Trissino introduced Vicentino to a wide range of classical literature, especially the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Vitruvius.

Vicentino’s writing suggests a belief in the power of print to fix knowledge and to establish truth. *L’antica musica*—a wide-ranging book touching on many different issues—reads as a full-length response to the debate. Vicentino closes the prefatory letter to readers by commending the book to their good graces:

Nothing else occurs to me, dearest readers, except to say that those of you who wish to learn from me the practice and science of music and not of language should pay close attention to the heart of my subject matter rather than to idle chatter and trifles. If you do so, I hope you will reap from my labors no ordinary

¹²⁷ Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 36–40.

¹²⁸ McDonald, “Proportions of the Divine.”

¹²⁹ Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino*, 17–18.

harvest. Love me, then, and defend me against calumniators just as I, loving you, did not shrink from all this hard work. Farewell.¹³⁰

Such rhetorical gestures were commonplace in prefaces and letters of dedication, as Mary S. Lewis has argued.¹³¹ In Vicentino's case, however, the preface refers to very real antagonists, and throughout the book Vicentino attempts to anticipate and counteract their attacks. Here he dismisses their critiques as "idle chatter and trifles." At the end of his account of the debate, Vicentino reprints Lusitano's example of consonances in the three genera.¹³² In the ensuing commentary, Vicentino notes how Lusitano misunderstood the application of the genera to modern music:

How it grieves me to have to show this example, so false in harmony! But I am comforted by two reasons why no one may reprimand me: first, because it is printed and I am not the first to make it public; and second, it permits everyone to judge the erudition of the pretensions of some men.¹³³

Vicentino's sarcastic exclamation suggests that he relished catching Lusitano in error. Publishing the critique in this way allowed Vicentino to avoid violating decorum; this exchange took place in public for all to see and without any of the scandal that characterized the debate itself. Printing technology thus allowed Vicentino to adjudicate the debate publicly and in a manner ideally suited to the rich complexity of his theories.

¹³⁰ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 5 (adapted). "Altro non me v'occorre dire diletissimi miei Lettori, se non che voi, che desiderate imparare da me la pratica e la scienza Musicale, e non la lingua, consideriate molto bene al nervo del soggetto mio, e non alle ciancie e frascarie; che se ciò farete, spero che delle mie fatiche raccorrete non mediocre frutto, Amatemi adunque, e difendetemi da simil calunniatori, come io amando voi, non hò risparmiato à tanta fatica. Valete." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 2v.

¹³¹ Lewis, "The Dedication as Paratext," 5–6.

¹³² Compare Lusitano, *Introduttione facilissima* (1553), sig. F2v–F3r; and Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 98r.

¹³³ Vicentino, *Ancient Music* (1996), 313. "Quanto mi duole haver dimostro il soprascritto essemplio falso d'armonia, ma mi conforta due ragioni, che non sarò d'alcuno ripreso; una perche è stampato, & ch'io non son stato il primo à darlo fuore; & l'altra, acciò ch'ognuno vegga il sapere delle professioni de gl'huomini." Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), fol. 98r.

Gioseffo Zarlino (c. 1517–1590)

Gioseffo Zarlino was born in 1517, probably during the month of January, at Chioggia, an island in the south of the Venetian lagoon.¹³⁴ He soon embarked a clerical career, receiving his first tonsure in 1532. His early career was focused at Chioggia, where he took minor orders (1537) and was ordained a deacon (1539). His musical career developed concurrently; he was appointed as a singer at the Duomo at Chioggia (from 1536) and later became an organist there (from 1539). As a man with strong academic and musical interests, he naturally gravitated toward Venice, a bustling hub of northern Italian cultural activities, where he moved in 1541. Zarlino appears to have been a student of Adrian Willaert, the *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica di San Marco, with whom he claimed to study the entire art and science of music. At the same time, Zarlino nurtured other related interests, studying philosophy, theology, mathematics, alchemy, astronomy, Greek, and Hebrew under other notable Venetian scholars. His relationship with Willaert probably was close, as he was the executor of Willaert's estate and was deeded ten ducats by his mentor.

Zarlino's rise within the Venetian musical establishment was surprisingly rapid for the native son of a region favorably disposed in previous decades to foreigners.¹³⁵ In 1560 he

¹³⁴ The most thorough biographical treatments of Zarlino are the following: Corwin, "*Le istituzioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 3–33; Horn, "Zarlino, Gioseffo"; Palisca, "Zarlino, Gioseffo"; and Schiltz, "Gioseffo Zarlino and the *Miserere* Tradition." Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 127–61 remains an important source, but contains numerous errors and unverifiable assertions. In addition to those cited below, useful summaries and contextualization of Zarlino's works are given in Da Col, "The Tradition and Science"; Fend, *Theorie des Tonsystems*; Haar, "Zarlino's Definition of Fugue and Imitation"; Judd, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from 1549*, vii–xii (Part 1) and vii–xv (Part 2); Judd and Schiltz, introduction to Zarlino, *Motets from the 1560s*, ix–xxx; Judd, "Learning to Compose"; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 179–261; Lewis, "Zarlino's Theories of Text Underlay"; Palisca, *Humanism*; Palisca, introduction to Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, ix–xxii; Palisca, introduction to Zarlino, *On the Modes*, vii–xxii; Wienpahl, "Zarlino, the Senario, and Tonality"; and Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*.

¹³⁵ Ongaro, "The Chapel of St. Mark's," 175–76 notes that the procurators preferred to hire local musicians for lower-paying positions, and *forastieri* (any individual coming from outside the Venetian Republic) for more distinguished and publicly-visible posts.

competed unsuccessfully for the position of *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica di Sant' Antonio at Padua. Finally, in 1565 he was appointed to the post of his late teacher, *maestro di cappella* at San Marco; the disastrous tenure of his predecessor, Cipriano de Rore, certainly was a contributing factor in his appointment. In this capacity, he was called upon to compose music celebrating the Venetian victory at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 and the consecration of the Chiesa del Santissimo Redentore in 1577. He also directed the musical festivities for the state visit of Henry III of France in 1574. Unfortunately, all of these occasional compositions are believed to be lost. His dealings with the procurators of San Marco demonstrate that he was well disposed to administrative work, receiving a fifty-ducat bonus in 1582 in recognition of his outstanding contributions.¹³⁶ This gesture also enticed Zarlino to remain at Venice when he was offered the distinguished position of Bishop of Chioggia, which he respectfully declined.¹³⁷

Books formed a central part of Zarlino's life. His last will and testament indicated that he possessed a library of some 1,144 volumes of printed books and one large manuscript volume bound in parchment.¹³⁸ Given that these figures reflect only the number of bound volumes, some of which comprised several editions each, the sum total of the books he owned was likely much larger.¹³⁹ The known books owned by Zarlino are listed in table A1.5, which includes four new

¹³⁶ Edwards, "Setting the Tone" surveys Zarlino's relationship with the administrators of San Marco.

¹³⁷ Casimiri, "Lettere di musicisti," transcribes Zarlino's letters to Cardinal Sirleto, now at I-Rvat, discussing his personal circumstances surrounding the bishopric.

¹³⁸ Palumbo-Fossati, "La casa veneziana," 639–49.

¹³⁹ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 183.

Table A1.5. Surviving books owned by Gioseffo Zarlino.

Location, shelfmark	Author, title (facts of publication). Notes.
F-Pn, Res. V564	Francisco de Salinas, <i>De musica libri septem</i> (Salamanca: Mathias Gast, 1577). Front free endp. reportedly signed “Anno Domini 1588 die 23 Julii, Venetii. J. Z.” ¹
I-Vnm, 132.D.31	Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, <i>Arithmetica</i> (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1512). T.p. signed “P. Josephi Zarlinj.” Nicolaus Copernicus, <i>De revolutionibus</i> (Nuremberg: Johannes Petrieus, 1543). T.p. signed “P. Josephii Zarlinii.” ² Jean Fernel, <i>De abditis rerum causis libri duo</i> (Paris: Christian Wechel, 1548). Back flyl. 1r inscribed “Anno dñice natiuitatis 1556 die septimo mēfis Decembris Venetijs. J. Z.”
US-Cn, Case V 5.936	Stefano Vanneo, <i>Recanetum de musica aurea</i> (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1533). Not signed. ³
US-Ws, GV213 .M5 1573 Cage	Girolamo Mercuriale, <i>De arte gymnastica libri sex</i> (Venice: heirs of Lucantonio Giunta, 1573). T.p. signed “P. Josephi Zarlini Clodieñ.”
Unknown	<i>In hoc opere contenta</i> [Jordanus of Nemore,] <i>Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata</i> [Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples,] <i>Musica libris demonstrata quattuor</i> [Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples,] <i>Epitome in libros arithmeticos divi Severini Boetii</i> [Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples,] <i>Rithmimachie ludus qui et pugna numerorum appellantur</i> (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1496). T.p. reportedly inscribed “hic liber est presbiter Josephi Zarlini amicorumq quem erit venetiis anno domini 1542 L.3.g8.”; formerly bound with Vanneo copy at US-Cn. ⁴
Unknown	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Delle cose antiche della citta di Roma</i> , trans. Francesco Venturi (Venice: Michele Tramezzino for Niccolò Bascarini, 1545). T.p. signed “P. Josephi Zarlini Clodienfis.”; formerly of D-KNheyer, present location unknown. ⁵

Notes

¹ Weckerlin, *Bibliothèque du Conservatoire*, 254–55. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 182n reports the existence of this volume.

² Gingerich, *An Annotated Census*, 133; Pesic, *Music and the Making of Modern Science*, 52. Since Gingerich’s publication came to light, the three editions under this shelfmark have been separated and conserved individually.

³ The copy also contains an excerpt in Zarlino’s hand of Guillaume Gerson, *Utilissime musicales regule*; Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 182n reports the existence of this volume and identifies this excerpt.

⁴ The existence of this volume is reported in an unknown dealer’s inscription on the front free endp. in the Vanneo copy at US-Cn. The dealer curiously lists the title as “Boeti Arithmetica; Musica, Parisiis Jo. Higmanus et Wolfg. Hopilius 1496.” The title listed here is the closest match to this description. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 182n reports the existence of this volume, but notes the incorrect facts of publication.

⁵ Kinsky, *Versteigerung von Musikbüchern*, 107 provides a facsimile reproduction of the signature. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 182n reports the existence of this volume.

copies that I have discovered.¹⁴⁰ Two features of these books are of interest. First is their range of topical variety—beyond the subject of music, Zarlino read the latest research on astronomy (Copernicus); metaphysics and medicine (Fernel, the inventor of physiology); and physical therapy (Mercuriale). Second is the general lack of annotations in his books; aside from a signature on the title page, his surviving books contain very few manuscript additions. His own writings attest that he was a careful reader of other works, suggesting that he possessed a good memory or kept notes on the books that he read in a diary or commonplace book.

A broader picture of the books that Zarlino read emerges from those cited and discussed in his own writings.¹⁴¹ Toward the end of part three of *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558), Zarlino briefly narrates the history of music theory up to the present. He laments the lack of general progress since Boethius and an idle obsession with subtleties of mensuration theories:

As regards theoretical or speculative music, few have taken the right path. Apart from Boethius, who wrote in Latin about our science and whose work is also imperfect, there has been no one who has gone beyond him into speculation on things pertaining to music, discovering the true proportions of the intervals—leaving aside the learned Franchinus [Gaffurius] and [Jacques] Lefèvre d'Étaples, for one might call them commentators on Boethius—except Lodovico Fogliano of Modena. He, having perhaps considered what Ptolemy left written on the syntonic diatonic, took the pains to write a Latin book on the subject to demonstrate the true proportions of the intervals involved. The other theorists, leaning on what Boethius wrote on these matters, were unwilling or unable to go further, and

¹⁴⁰ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 182n lists three of these editions (as noted in the table). Following Godt, “Italian *Figurenlehre*,” 192n, Judd reports that Zarlino’s copy of Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* is held at I-Bu. I have examined the library’s two copies of this work: shelfmarks A.5.AA.3.3 (Lyon: Jean Crespin, 1561) and A.5.R.6.2 (Lyon: Antoine Vincent, 1561). Godt is correct that the latter belonged to Philippe de Monte, but errs in attributing the former to Zarlino (there are no indications of early provenance in the volume). It appears that the bulk of Zarlino’s library remained in Venice; I am in the process of identifying further books owned by Zarlino from a very large accession to I-Vnm.

¹⁴¹ Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche: Venezia, 1561* (1999), 97–101 gives a partial index of the persons and works mentioned by name. Zarlino, *On the Modes*, 113–14 gives a more complete index of the classical passages cited only in part four of the treatise.

occupied themselves by writing of the things mentioned.¹⁴² These things, which they said belonged to the quantitative genus, have to do with mood, time, and prolation, as may be seen in the *Recanetum de musica*, the *Toscanello*, the *Scintille*, and in a thousand other books like them.¹⁴³ In addition there are on such matters a diversity of opinions and lengthy disputations without end. There are also many tracts and apologies, written by certain musicians against others, which, were one to read them a thousand times, the reading, rereading, and study would reveal nothing but vulgarities and slander rather than anything good, and they would leave one appalled.¹⁴⁴

Like other writers of the time, Zarlino tended not to identify his sources, whether by author name or work title; only Boethius and Gaffurius merit repeated reference by name, and many of these references are slights.¹⁴⁵ The only other Renaissance music theorist mentioned by name in Zarlino's *Istitutioni* is Othmar Luscinius, whose *Musurgia* (1536) he invokes with reference to ancient musical instruments.¹⁴⁶ Aaron and Vanneo are referred to several times not by name but by the titles of their works. Zarlino borrows from or invokes several writers of books about music without mentioning either their names or the titles of their works; the most famous

¹⁴² "Things mentioned" refers to "so many dots, rests, colors, ciphers, signs, ratios, and other strange things" pertaining to mensuration theory. Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 265. "tanti Punti, tante Pause, tanti Colori, tanti Cifere, tanti Segni, tanti Numeri contra numeri, et tante altre cose strane." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 279.

¹⁴³ These are Vanneo, *Recanetum* (1533), Aaron, *Toscanello* (1523), and Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (1533).

¹⁴⁴ Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 267 (adapted). "Quanto poi alle Ragioni, cioè in quanto alla Speculativa; pochi si vedeno esser stati quelli, che habiano tenuto la buona strada: conciosiache, oltra quello, che scrisse Boetio in lingua latina di tal scienza, che si trova anco essere imperfetto; non si trova alcuno (lassando il dotto Franchino, & il Fabro stapulense da un canto, i quali sono stati, si può dire, commentator di Boetio) che habbia proceduto più oltra, speculando intorno le cose appartenenti alla Musica, ritrovando le vere Proportioni de gli intervalli Musicali; da Lodovico Fogliano Modenese in fuori; ilquale havendo forse considerato quello, che Tolomeo lassò scritto del Diatonico sintono, si affaticò nel scrivere un volume latino in tal facultà; per mostrare con ogni verità le vere Proportioni delli nominati intervalli. Il resto poi delli Musici Theorici, stando a quello, che scrisse Boetio intorno a simili materie, non volsero, ò non potero passare più oltra: ma si diedero a scrivere le cose mostrate, le quali chiamarono del genere Quantitativo, che sono contenute nel Modo, nel Tempo, & nella Prolatione; si come nel Recaneto di musica, nel Thoscanello, nelle Scintille, & in mille altri libri simili si può vedere. Et di più si trovano anco sopra tali materie varie opinioni, & disputationi longhissime, da non venire mai al fine. Si trovano etiandio molti Trattati, & molte Apologie di alcuni Musici, scritti contra alcuni altri, ne i quali (se bene si leggessero mille fiata) dopo letti, riletti, & essaminati, non si ritrova altro, che infinite villanie, & maledicentie, & poco di buono; di maniera che è un stupore." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 279.

¹⁴⁵ Corwin, "Le istitutioni harmoniche of Gioseffo Zarlino," 37–49 considers the influence of Boethius and Gaffurius, among other writers.

¹⁴⁶ Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 290; Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 286.

example is Zarlino's adoption of Glarean's twelve-mode system.¹⁴⁷ Immediately following the section quoted above is a chapter on the ancient Greek genera addressed to "some musicians today who labor and take great pains to put them to use"—a clear reference to Nicola Vicentino.¹⁴⁸

Zarlino, unlike Glarean, seems to have viewed printed books as ideal vehicles for learning and study. Writing about the intricacies of counterpoint, Zarlino recommends the works of Willaert as models for imitation:

To be brief I shall stop at this point. One can see daily many compositions by the most excellent Adrian Willaert which, in addition to being full of a thousand beautiful and graceful inventions, are eruditely and elegantly composed. There are innumerable others composed by other very excellent musicians, many of which can be found in a booklet printed in octavo by Andrea Antico in Venice. Studying those can be of much help in devising similar effects, and with their light anyone can undertake larger and more difficult compositions creditably.¹⁴⁹

The reference to seeing ("si veggono") the compositions of Willaert, as opposed to merely hearing them, implies Zarlino's assessment of how print might be used. Iain Fenlon has drawn attention to Zarlino's ambitious program to print a series of masterworks of music theory under the auspices of the Accademia Veneziana della Fama.¹⁵⁰ This list included ancient Greek works

¹⁴⁷ Palisca, *Humanism*, 298–301 summarizes Zarlino's relationship with Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, noting in particular in the tension between their intellectual frameworks.

¹⁴⁸ Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 267. "alcuni Pratici molto si affaticano, & pongono ogni lor cura per volerli porre in uso." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 280. Harrán, "New Light" further considers Zarlino's complicated relationship with Vicentino's writings.

¹⁴⁹ Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, 240 (adapted). "Ma per non esser lungo, farò fine; massimamente perche ogni giorno si veggono molte altre compositioni, composte dallo Eccellentissimo Adriano Vuillaert, lequali, oltre che sono piene di mille belle, & leggiadre inventioni; sono anche dottamente, & elegantemente composte. Infinite altre etiam di ve ne sono, composte da altri Eccellentissimi Musici; delle quale molte se ne ritrovano in un libretto, ilquale già fù stampato in Vinegia da Andrea antico in ottavo foglio; lequali vedute, potranno esser di grande aiuto per ritrovare altre simili inventioni: percioche da quelle, si haverà un tal lume, che ciascuno dipoi si potrà porre a maggiori, & a più difficili imprese, & honorevoli." Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 266. For the Antico print in relation to Zarlino's *Istitutioni*, see Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 242.

¹⁵⁰ Fenlon, "Giuseffo Zarlino."

translated into Latin and modern works in Latin translated into Italian; works cited for Italian translation include Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* and Lodovico Fogliano's *Musica theorica*—the same works cited approvingly in Zarlino's *Istitutioni*. Claude V. Palisca has doubted Zarlino's motivation to read and access to the surviving manuscript sources of ancient and medieval music theory.¹⁵¹ Zarlino's letters show, however, that his lack of genuine humanistic credentials did not prevent him from seeking out copies of ancient sources. Writing on 30 October 1579 to the humanist and bibliophile Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), Zarlino replies to a query about the works of some unfamiliar authors:

Of the authors that Glarean cites, I have seen only the Guido, which I send to Your Excellency although it is imperfect, and which will serve your convenience. I saw likewise the Odo; the other I have not seen. The Odo has slipped my grasp, having been taken by untrustworthy people. But none of these have been printed; all are written by hand. That which I send to Your Excellency is the *Introduttorio* by Guido, truly both incorrect and incomplete, from what I recall seeing in other exemplars, especially with regard to the poem that begins *Gliscunt corda meis hominum mollita camoenis*—which is very long and contains everything belonging to the art of music of its time.¹⁵²

For Zarlino, manuscripts hid knowledge by virtue of their scarcity and often-partial survival.

Zarlino's program to publish books about music and his efforts to track down sources for his correspondents suggest furthermore that he might have viewed printed books as a remedy to the inaccessibility of manuscripts.

¹⁵¹ Palisca, *Humanism*, 133 and 244–50.

¹⁵² “Degli autori che cita il Glareano ho veduto solamente Guidone, il quale mando a V. S. anchora che sia imperfetto: del quale se ne servirà a suo comodo: et vidi anco Ottone; l'altro non l'ho veduto. Et l'Ottone mi scappò dalle mani per haver havuto a fare con persone di poca fede: ma niuno di questi si truova a stampa; tutti sono scritti a mano. Questo ch'io mando a V. S. è l'introduttorio di Guidone veramente et scoretto et imperfetto: per quello ch'io mi ricordo haver veduto negli altri esemplari: et specialmente in quella sua canzone che incomincia Gliscunt corda meis hominum mollita camoenis: la qual si trova esser lunghissima, et contiene tutta l'arte della musica de' suoi tempi.” Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 160–61. Further on Zarlino's correspondence with Pinelli, see Farina, “Gerolamo Mei e Gioseffo Zarlino”; and Sanvito, “Le sperimentazioni nelle scienze.”

Table A1.6. Single-author publications of Gioseffo Zarlino. All editions issued at Venice.

Year	Title	Printer/Publisher	Comments
1549	<i>Musici quinque vocum</i>	Antonio Gardano	RISM Z99
1558	<i>Le institutioni harmoniche</i>	s.n.	1st edition
1561	<i>Utilissimo trattato della patientia</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	1st edition
1561	<i>Le institutioni harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	Issue of 1558 edition
1562	<i>Le institutioni harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	Issue of 1558 edition
1566	<i>Modulationes sex vocum</i>	Francesco Rampazetto	RISM Z100
1571	<i>Dimostrationi harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	1st edition
1573	<i>Istitutioni harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	2nd edition
1579	<i>Discorso intorno il vero anno et il vero giorno nel quale si fu crucifisso il Nostro Signor Giesu Christo</i>	Domenico Nicolini	1st edition
1579	<i>Informatione intorno la origine della congregatione de i reverendi frati capuccini</i>	Domenico Nicolini	1st edition
1580	<i>De vera anni forma, sive De recta eius emendatione</i>	Giovanni Varisco	Only edition
1583	<i>Resolutioni de alcuni dubii sopra la corretione dell'anno di Giulio Cesare</i>	Girolamo Polo	1st edition
1583	<i>Utilissimo trattato della patientia</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	2nd edition
1588	<i>De tutte l'opere...Sopplimenti musicali...terzo volume</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	1st edition
1589	<i>De tutte l'opere...primo volume...L'istitutioni harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	3rd edition
1589	<i>De tutte l'opere...secondo volume...Le dimostrationi harmoniche</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	2nd edition
1589	<i>De tutte l'opere...quarto et ultimo volume contenente Il trattato della patientia, Il discorso del vero anno et giorno della morte di Christo, L'origine de i R. P. capuccini, et Le resolutioni d'alcune dimande fatte intorno la corretione del calendario di Giulio Cesare</i>	Francesco de' Franceschi	3rd edition (<i>Trattato</i>) and 2nd editions (other contents)

Zarlino's own publications are remarkably diverse (table A1.6). In addition to his familiar trilogy of books about music—the *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), *Dimostrationi harmoniche* (1571), and *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588)—Zarlino published books on chronology, the growth of religious orders, and calendric reform. In chapters two and three, I examine at length Zarlino's

relationship to print culture, showing how he adapted only gradually to the medium of print through a partnership with the Venetian printer and publisher Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. Cristle Collins Judd draws an essential contrast between Glarean's *Dodecachordon* and Zarlino's *Istitutioni* correlated to their "strongly differentiated relationships to notated music."¹⁵³ In closing this discussion, I propose that the differences in their treatises also relate to their opposing perspectives on and experience with printed books. Glarean approached printed books cautious of their corrupting influence, whereas Zarlino embraced their potential to disseminate knowledge. Glarean's books were the end-results of an intellectual thought process, whereas Zarlino's reflect an ongoing process of intellectual gestation carried out through several editions.

The previous chapters have focused primarily on books about music themselves, examining their material forms and social contexts. This appendix has offered a complementary approach focused on the authors of such books, examining their interactions with print culture as authors, publishers, and readers. The contrasting approaches of Glarean and Zarlino provide an especially vivid illustration of how the richly-variegated culture of books both shaped and was shaped by the approaches and attitudes of representative authors of Renaissance books about music. Likewise, Danckerts, Gaffurius, Lusitano, Tigrini, and Vicentino maintained distinctive professional profiles that enrich purely materialistic or bibliographical analyses of their works.

¹⁵³ Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, 261.

APPENDIX TWO: THE DISSEMINATION OF MUSIC THEORY IN PRINT

This appendix shows the chronological and geographical dissemination of music theory in print during the Renaissance. The following table encompasses all the printed books that touch at least partly on the subject of music from the period 1474 to 1609. By reading the rows, one sees how many works were printed during any given five-year interval and where. By reading the columns, one sees how many works were printed in any given city and when. Accounted for in my data are printed books about the theory, practice, and history of music, as well as substantive sections dealing with aesthetics, criticism, or introductions to music in larger books about other subjects.¹ My starting points for this appendix were the enumerative bibliographies given in RISM (series B/VI, *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*) and Davidsson, *Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts*. While Davidsson's bibliography accounts more accurately for the total number of editions of the smaller group of works it lists, RISM has a more comprehensive scope, including encyclopedias, and books on theater, liturgy, and acoustics. I have attempted to maintain the accuracy of Davidsson within the broader scope of RISM. Toward this end, I have attempted to verify the accuracy of each of the entries in these bibliographies and provided additional entries absent in both sources from my own research. I am in the process of adapting this dataset into a searchable online database that will facilitate the kind of statistical analysis presented in chapter one.

¹ I also follow RISM in excluding the following categories from consideration: regulations of musical organizations; legal documents; catalogs and bibliographies; concert notices, programs, and reviews; reference works with few entries on music; travelogues and guidebooks; fictional works; works in non-European languages; and primers on musical technique that consist mostly of exercises. By "books," I understand the more traditional codices and broadsides, although coverage of the latter is spotty in many bibliographies. In this appendix, I do not include editions for which it has not been possible to ascertain a place or date of publication.

	Total	Alcalá de Henares	Altenberg	Amberg	Antwerp	Augsburg	Avignon	Barcelona	Basel	Bautzen	Beaujeu	Bergamo	Bern	Bologna
1470–1474	2													
1475–1479	1													
1480–1484	6													2
1485–1489	7					1								1
1490–1494	13				1				1					2
1495–1499	19								1					1
1500–1504	23								2					
1505–1509	36					1			2					
1510–1514	41							2	1					
1515–1519	46					3			2					1
1520–1524	28								1					2
1525–1529	26		2		1				1					
1530–1534	40	1			1		1							
1535–1539	53					7			3				3	
1540–1544	46	1				5							1	
1545–1549	49					1			3				1	
1550–1554	56				1	2			2				1	
1555–1559	51	2				1			6		1			
1560–1564	41								1					
1565–1569	34	1			1									
1570–1574	42					1			2					
1575–1579	28								1					
1580–1584	43				1	1			2			1		
1585–1589	48							1	2					
1590–1594	43				2	2				1				1
1595–1599	48			1		3								1
1600–1604	51				1	3								1
1605–1609	50					1								2
Total editions	971	5	2	1	9	32	1	3	33	1	1	1	6	14
First editions	514	3	1	1	8	13	1	3	20	1	1	0	1	10

	Bordeaux	Bratislava	Brescia	Breslau (Wrocław)	Brunswick	Burgo de Osma	Burgos	Caen	Casale Monferrato	Coimbra	Cologne	Como	Copenhagen	Deventer	Dortmund
1470–1474															
1475–1479															
1480–1484															
1485–1489															
1490–1494															
1495–1499			3								1				
1500–1504			2								2				
1505–1509			2				1				8				
1510–1514							1				1				
1515–1519							1				2			1	
1520–1524											2				
1525–1529							1				1				
1530–1534			1								2				
1535–1539							1				2				
1540–1544				1			1				1				
1545–1549				1	1										
1550–1554	1														
1555–1559															
1560–1564				1							1				
1565–1569				2											
1570–1574				1		1					1				1
1575–1579		1									1				
1580–1584				1				1			1				1
1585–1589															
1590–1594		1		1							1				
1595–1599									1	1		1			
1600–1604															
1605–1609		1	1	1										1	
Total editions	1	3	9	9	1	1	6	1	1	1	27	1	1	1	2
First editions	0	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	9	1	1	1	1

	Dresden	Düsseldorf	Eisleben	Erfurt	Ferrara	Florence	Frankfurt (Main)	Frankfurt (Oder)	Freiburg i. B.	Geneva	Görlitz	Greifswald	Hamburg	Hanau	Hanover
1470–1474															
1475–1479															
1480–1484															
1485–1489															
1490–1494															
1495–1499															
1500–1504									1						
1505–1509								1							
1510–1514				2		1		1							
1515–1519															
1520–1524						1									
1525–1529															
1530–1534															
1535–1539															
1540–1544							2								
1545–1549							1	1							
1550–1554				1				1		1					
1555–1559		1						1							
1560–1564								1		1					
1565–1569		1	1				1								
1570–1574											3				
1575–1579							1			1					
1580–1584				2		2				2		2	1		
1585–1589				3	2	1							5		
1590–1594				6				2				1			
1595–1599				2	1		2	3					1		
1600–1604					2	2	1							1	
1605–1609	1					1	2	2							1
Total editions	1	2	1	16	5	8	10	13	1	5	3	3	7	1	1
First editions	1	2	1	12	5	7	7	6	1	3	2	1	0	1	1

	Heidelberg	Helmstedt	Hildesheim	Jena	Königsberg	Kraków	La Rochelle	Landshut	Langres	Laingen	Leiden	Leipzig	Lisbon	London	Louvain
1470–1474															
1475–1479															
1480–1484															
1485–1489															
1490–1494															
1495–1499															
1500–1504						1									
1505–1509															
1510–1514						1						2			
1515–1519						5		2				10			
1520–1524						1						5			
1525–1529						2									
1530–1534						2						1	3		
1535–1539						3							1		
1540–1544						3						6			
1545–1549					1	1						4			1
1550–1554						2						8			
1555–1559												6			
1560–1564				1		1						2		1	
1565–1569														1	
1570–1574														2	
1575–1579						1								1	
1580–1584						1								1	
1585–1589		1							2	2					
1590–1594	1											1			
1595–1599		1		1					1			1		4	
1600–1604			1	1	1							6		1	
1605–1609				3			1				1	4		2	
Total editions	1	2	1	6	2	24	1	2	3	2	1	56	4	13	1
First editions	0	2	1	5	2	12	1	0	1	2	1	19	3	12	1

	Lyon	Maastricht	Magdeburg	Mainz	Messina	Milan	Modena	Mühlhausen	Münster	Naples	Nuremberg	Olomouc	Orléans	Osuna	Oxford
1470–1474				2											
1475–1479															
1480–1484	1									2					
1485–1489											1				
1490–1494				1		2									
1495–1499						1					1				
1500–1504					1	1									
1505–1509				1		2			1						
1510–1514				1		1					6				
1515–1519						1					3				
1520–1524						1					1				
1525–1529	2					1				1					
1530–1534	1										3				
1535–1539	2		1								5				
1540–1544	1		1								6				
1545–1549			2			1					9			1	
1550–1554		1								1	6			1	
1555–1559	3									1	5	1		1	
1560–1564										1	11		1		
1565–1569								2			14	1			
1570–1574	2		1					1			10				
1575–1579	1		1								5				
1580–1584	2		1								6				
1585–1589	1		1								7				2
1590–1594	1		2								8				
1595–1599	1		1			3					2				
1600–1604	1					5	1			1	2				
1605–1609	1					1				3	3				
Total editions	20	1	11	5	1	20	1	3	1	10	114	2	1	3	2
First editions	12	1	7	5	1	13	1	1	1	9	30	1	1	3	2

	Padua	Paris	Parma	Pavia	Perugia	Poitiers	Prostějov	Regensburg	Rome	Rostock	Salamanca	Seville	Siena	Speyer	St. Gallen
1470–1474															
1475–1479															
1480–1484															
1485–1489									1						
1490–1494		1										1			
1495–1499		2									2				
1500–1504		3									2	1			
1505–1509		4									1				
1510–1514		7										1			
1515–1519		2										2			
1520–1524		2							1						
1525–1529		1													
1530–1534		3							1						
1535–1539				1					1						
1540–1544		1													
1545–1549	1	2				1									
1550–1554		7						1	4						
1555–1559		7				1			3						
1560–1564							1		1			1			
1565–1569		2						1				1			
1570–1574		5													
1575–1579		4								2	2				
1580–1584		4										1			1
1585–1589			1		1				2	1				2	
1590–1594									3		1				
1595–1599		1	1						1	1					
1600–1604	1									3					
1605–1609	1	1								4			2		
Total editions	3	59	2	1	1	2	1	2	18	11	8	8	2	2	1
First editions	3	33	2	1	1	1	1	2	16	8	5	5	2	2	1

	Steinfurt	Strasbourg	Szczecin	Toledo	Tournai	Treviso	Troyes	Tübingen	Turin	Uelzen	Urbino	Valencia	Valladolid	Venice	Verona
1470–1474															
1475–1479		1													
1480–1484														1	
1485–1489		2												1	
1490–1494		1												3	
1495–1499						1						1		4	
1500–1504		2											1	4	
1505–1509		2											2	6	
1510–1514		2		2										6	
1515–1519		2											1	4	
1520–1524				1					2					5	
1525–1529													1	6	1
1530–1534														6	
1535–1539		2		1								1		7	
1540–1544		4												5	
1545–1549		1												4	
1550–1554				1										3	
1555–1559		1												5	
1560–1564		1												10	
1565–1569													1	4	
1570–1574		3												4	
1575–1579		1									1			1	1
1580–1584										2				6	
1585–1589		1												9	
1590–1594					1								2	4	1
1595–1599		2										1	1	6	1
1600–1604	1		2				1	1						11	
1605–1609			1					1						5	
Total editions	1	28	3	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	9	130	4
First editions	1	12	3	4	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	5	74	2

	Vicenza	Vienna	Weißenfels	Wesel	Wittenberg	Wolfenbüttel	Zaragoza	Zürich
1470–1474								
1475–1479								
1480–1484								
1485–1489								
1490–1494								
1495–1499	1							
1500–1504								
1505–1509		1					1	
1510–1514		1			1		1	
1515–1519		1			2		1	
1520–1524		2			1			
1525–1529					4		1	
1530–1534					12		2	
1535–1539					11		1	
1540–1544					6		1	
1545–1549					9		2	
1550–1554					8		1	2
1555–1559					4			1
1560–1564			1		2		1	
1565–1569								
1570–1574					2	1		
1575–1579					1	1		
1580–1584								
1585–1589					1			
1590–1594								
1595–1599								1
1600–1604				1				
1605–1609					2			
Total editions	1	5	1	1	66	2	12	4
First editions	1	4	0	1	20	0	2	3

APPENDIX THREE: EARLY OWNERS, READERS, AND REFERENCES

This appendix presents a broad sample of the dissemination of music theory during the Renaissance by means of individual exemplars and early references to readers. This appendix includes books about music published between c. 1480 and 1610, a period that witnessed a dramatic transformation in approaches to writing about music. I aim to show that these textual changes also were manifested in readership; as new kinds of books and writings emerged, so did new audiences. Evidence concerning the ownership and readership of copies comes primarily from three sources: (1) provenance records in library catalogs; (2) scholarly accounts of individual libraries; and (3) my own survey of exemplars in several major repositories. Each of these kinds of sources offers an incomplete glimpse of the field of book ownership and readership. Few libraries, despite the persistent nagging of scholars, include provenance records in their catalogs; many such records are incomplete or uneven and require additional verification. Scholarly accounts of individual libraries tend to focus on the largest and most noteworthy collections, which also suffer from poor survival rates and the vagaries of historical cataloging practices. Lastly, any survey of copies in the present, no matter how thorough, can assess only extant copies, which typically reflect a minority of those sold and used in the period immediately following publication. Therefore, any such accounting can never be complete or even exhaustive; I welcome further contributions and corrections from my own readers. I intend this appendix as an initial contribution toward the broader study of reading about music during the Renaissance.

Supplemental sources about readership come from individual testimonies about these books. Such testimonies take the form of early bibliographies, booklists, and inventories; auction catalogs; commentaries or extended references to books inside other books; and other historical

documents that suggest that a certain individual read or owned a particular book. Of these, I have elected to focus most heavily on references before around 1800 and on catalogs of the largest and most significant collections. Naturally, all of these sources of information should be subjected to careful scrutiny. Note also that I only refer to direct testimony within a book that its author knew or read another book. This means that instances of borrowing and what now we might call plagiarism are not included—thus, for example, Morley does not appear as a reader of Tigrini's *Compendio*. I include all of these supplemental sources as a way of rounding out the picture of the dissemination of books about music throughout the centuries, especially in light of their high rate of attrition. Toward this end, I present provenance histories as fully as possible, noting all known readers regardless of when they owned their books. I note anonymous readers (i.e., those who left no inscription) only where some details may provide clues to their identity in the future (e.g., distinctive stamp, motto, inscription, etc.).

The entries are arranged alphabetically by author and title, then chronologically. In the interest of space, only the author's last name, short title, year of publication, and bibliographical format are given (e.g., Ornitoparchus, *Micrologus* (1519), 4° upright); full facts of publication are given in the bibliography. Each entry is divided into two sections: (1) a list of surviving exemplars, indicated by RISM sigla and shelfmark, and their corresponding verifiable owners; and (2) a list of other known readers whose books remain as-yet undiscovered; several entries contain only this latter section, as surviving copies are scarce. Readers listed as "other" are grouped together under the earliest edition of the book listed, except where a specific edition other than the first is identified.

Key to abbreviated references

For the sake of brevity, I have abbreviated references to certain owners, collectors, and libraries that possessed more than a few books about music. The following key provides brief biographical sketches of these collectors and citations to the sources in which their libraries are cataloged.

Pietro Aaron	Italian music theorist and composer (c. 1480–after 1545). Many of his works contain references to Renaissance books about music. The most numerous are references to his own works; identified below are references to books by other authors. I cite only the first or most extensive references within each work.
St. Anna-Kirche	Protestant church at Augsburg, patronized during the 16th cent. by the Fugger family. In 1470, the Carmelites founded a singing school (the Kantorei) at the church, which amassed a large collection of books of and about music. From 1620 until his death, Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625, cantor at the Cathedral of Augsburg from 1581) drew up an inventory of the library of the Kantorei. Page references are to Schaal, “Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg.” Where possible, I have provided Gumpelzhaimer’s appraisals of each volume, given in the form Florin/Kreuzer.
Giovanni Maria Artusi	Italian composer and music theorist (c. 1540–1613). Page references are to his treatise <i>L’Artusi, overo Delle imperfettioni della moderna musica</i> (1600), which contains numerous references to Renaissance books about music. I cite only the first or most extensive references; identifications that have involved guesswork are flagged as “likely.”
Paul Bolduan	Pastor and bibliographer at Pomerania in Prussia (fl. 17th cent.), who published a three-volume universal bibliography that includes a substantial section on music (vol. 2, <i>Bibliotheca philosophica</i> , 1616). Page references are to Krummel, <i>Bibliotheca Bolduaniana</i> , which includes useful cross-references to contemporary booklists made at the Frankfurt Book Fair, indicating that Bolduan purchased or saw these books there.
Pierre-Jean Burette	French physician, scholar, and amateur musician (1655–1747); son of composer and harpsichordist Claude Burette (fl. late 17th cent.). Possessed a large library of books on mathematics and science. Page references are to <i>Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. Burette</i> .

Charles Burney	English music historian and composer working at London (1726–1814). Page references are to Burney, <i>A General History of Music</i> , vol. 3.
Pietro Cerone	Italian priest and music theorist working at Naples and Spain (1566–1625). The second part of his treatise <i>El melopeo y maestro</i> (1613)—like those of Lanfranco, Morley, and Tigrini—ends with a list of notable writers on music that presents a comprehensive retrospective of Renaissance musical thought (pp. 335–336). Cerone’s list includes mostly authors’ names; only a few works are specified. Identifications that have involved guesswork are flagged as “likely.”
Alfred Cortot	French pianist, conductor, and bibliophile (1877–1962). His library included a significant collection of Renaissance books about music, many of which were purchased at auction by or donated to US-Cn during the 1960s and 1970s. Page references are to Goldbeck, <i>Bibliothèque Alfred Cortot</i> .
Edmond de Coussemaker	French musicologist and jurist (1805–1876). Owned a sizeable collection of music books of all kinds, auctioned over four days in iv.1877. Page references are to <i>Catalogue de la bibliothèque et des instruments de musique de feu M. Ch. Edm. H. de Coussemaker</i> .
Antonfrancesco Doni	Florentine <i>poligrafo</i> living at Venice (1513–1574). Books cited are listed in his booklists, <i>La libreria</i> (1540) and <i>La seconda libreria</i> (1551). Both are revised posthumously in <i>La libreria</i> (1580). Further on Doni’s booklists, see chapter four.
Giusto Fontanini	Italian cleric, historian, and Archbishop of Ankara (1666–1736). Page references are to Zeno, <i>Biblioteca dell’eloquenza italiana di Monsignore Giusto Fontanini</i> (1804); this edition records appraisals for each volume. Apostolo Zeno includes notes, some extensive, on most of the items in Fontanini’s library, and should thus be understood to accompany Fontanini as a reader; additional testimony about Zeno’s readership is noted where relevant.
Vincenzo Galilei	Florentine composer and music theorist (1520–1591). Page references, except where noted otherwise, are to Galilei, <i>Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna</i> (1581), which mentions several other books about music. I cite only the first or most extensive references.
Conrad Gesner	Swiss humanist and bibliographer (1516–1565). Gesner compiled three large bibliographies in hopes of cataloging every known book: <i>Bibliotheca universalis</i> (1545), <i>Pandectae sive partitionum universalium libri xix</i> (1548), and <i>Appendix bibliothecae Conradi</i>

Gesneri (1555). Page references are to the list of books cited by Gesner in L. Bernstein, “The Bibliography of Music in Conrad Gesner’s *Pandectae* (1548).”

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|--------------------------|---|
| John IV of Portugal | King of Portugal (1604–1656). Possessor of one of the largest monarchical libraries of the seventeenth century, destroyed in a major earthquake that devastated the city of Lisbon in 1755. Page references are to <i>Primeira parte do index da livreria del música de el-rei João IV</i> . |
| Horace de Landau | French baron born at Budapest, banker, and bibliophile (1824–1903). Established a villa at Florence with a notable library, largely purchased in 1866 from his employer, the French banker James de Rothschild (1792–1868). Upon his death, the library passed first to his niece Eugenia Ellenberger-Finaly (1850–1938) and then to his great-nephew Horace Finaly (1871–1945). Upon the latter’s death, the collection was sold at auction by Sotheby’s (London) on 17.ix.1949. Page references are to Roediger, <i>Catalogue des livres, manuscrits et imprimés composant la bibliothèque de M. Horace de Landau</i> . |
| Giovanni Maria Lanfranco | Italian composer and music theorist (c. 1490–1545). Served as <i>maestro di cappella</i> in the cathedrals at Brescia (1536–1540) and Parma (1540–1545). His treatise <i>Scintille di musica</i> (1533) includes a list of noteworthy authors of books about music whose theories he adopts (sig. π3v). Lanfranco’s list includes only names of authors, although Lee, <i>Giovanni Maria Lanfranco’s “Scintille di musica”</i> identifies his precise sources throughout the book. |
| Thomas Morley | English composer and music theorist (1557–1602). Appended to Morley’s <i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke</i> (1597) is a list of “authors whose authorities be either cited or used in this book such as have written of the art of music” (sig. 3x4v). Morley’s list includes only authors’ names. Although the body of the book occasionally gives book-titles, most of the specific works identified below are speculative. |
| Antonio Possevino | Jesuit priest, papal diplomat, and encyclopedist born at Mantua (1533–1611). After retiring from diplomacy, Possevino set to work compiling a universal bibliography of works in line with Jesuit orthodoxy. The work includes a long list of “Auctores qui scripsere de Musica Practica, & Speculativa,” which mentions names of authors and only a few titles. In some cases it is possible to deduce the book that Possevino had in mind (e.g., Lusitano); other cases involve some guesswork (e.g., Gaffurius), flagged in the entries below as “likely.” All references are to Possevino, <i>Bibliotheca selecta</i> (1593). |

Sacred Harmonic Society	Amateur choral society at London (active 1832–1882). Possessed a large library of ancient and modern books of and about music, administered by the Society’s librarian, William Henry Husk (1814–1887). Page references are to Husk, <i>Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society</i> ; and Husk, <i>Supplement to the Catalogue of the Sacred Harmonic Society</i> .
Francisco de Salinas	Spanish music theorist and organist (1513–1590). Page references are to lengthy and relevant discussions of earlier and contemporary writers in his treatise <i>De musica libri septem</i> (1577).
Thomas Selle	German composer and music director for the city of Hamburg (1599–1663). Possessed a large library of books of and about music. Page references are to the scholarly edition of the Selle’s library catalog: Neubacher, <i>Die Musikbibliothek des hamburgener Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle (1599–1663)</i> .
Oratio Tigrini	Italian composer and music theorist working at Arezzo (1541–1591). His treatise <i>Il compendio della musica</i> (1588) cites a wide range of contemporary writers on music, giving marginal references to 73 works by 51 authors, often to specific pages or chapters. Tigrini also gives a list of authors on sig. $\pi 4r$ – $\pi 4v$ that is of immense value for studying the dissemination of music theory in print during the late sixteenth century.
J. G. von Werdenstein	Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608). Canon of Augsburg and bibliophile. Sold his very large collection of books in 1592 to Wilhelm V of Bavaria (1548–1626) for 6,000 florins, which became a central accession for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich. Page references are to Charteris, <i>Johann Georg von Werdenstein</i> .
Werner Wolffheim	German musicologist and book collector (1877–1930). Amassed a very large collection of books and manuscripts of and about music, which was sold at auction by Martin Breslauer and Leo Liepmannssohn (Berlin) over the course of a week (11–16.vi.1928). Page references are to <i>Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr. Werner Wolffheim</i> , both volumes of which begin with estimates of each item auctioned.
Gioseffo Zarlino	Italian composer and music theorist (c. 1517–1590). Although Zarlino seems to have used a wide range of sources in composing his own books. Identified below are the handful of books that Zarlino cites by author or title. I cite only the first or most extensive references within each work.

Aaron, *Compendiolo* (c. 1545), 4° upright

D-Mbs, 4° Mus. th. 2	Inscription of “H. I. V. Laburgess”[?] (18th cent.), otherwise unknown; same inscription appears in Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1561) at D-Mbs
US-Cn, Case ML171 .A11 1545	Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890) Purchased by US-Cn on 17.x.1949 for £42.10
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 157) Pietro Cerone Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and bibliophile ¹ Henry Wellesley (1791–1866), scholar, antiquarian, and curator of the Bodleian Library; copy bound with Aiguino, <i>La illuminata</i> (1562) and Lusitano, <i>Introduttione</i> (1561); copy sold in 1866 to Bernard Quaritch for £4.17s.6d ²

Aaron, *Libri tres de institutione harmonica* (1516), 4° upright

US-Bp, ML171. A15	Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
US-Cn, Case ML171 .A15 1516	Convent of Observant Friars Minor of Montemaggio, Urbino Acquired by US-Cn in iv.1996
US-R, ML171 .A111	Godfrey Edward Pellew Arkwright (1864–1944), British musicologist Acquired by US-R on 6.vi.1940 from Otto Haas for £38
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 154) Pietro Cerone Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Oratio Tigrini

Aaron, *Lucidario* (1545), 4° upright

I-Bc, B.14	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
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¹ Schaal, “Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.,” 134.

² *Catalogue of the...Library of...Dr. Wellesley*, 20.

Other readers	Charles Burney (pp. 151 and 156) Pietro Cerone Antonfrancesco Doni Horace de Landau (p. 545) Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 69); appraised at 600 Reichsmark
Aaron, <i>Toscanello</i> (1523), 2°	
US-Wcm, ML171 .A13 1523	Gustavo Camillo Galletti (1805–1868), Florentine publisher and book collector Horace de Landau (p. 545)
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 154) Pietro Cerone; likely Antonfrancesco Doni John IV of Portugal (p. 116) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Thomas Morley Antonio Possevino Oratio Tigrini Gioseffo Zarlino; <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558, p. 279)
Aaron, <i>Toscanello</i> (1529), 2°	
I-Bc, B.10	Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.); light annotations and ink sketches of different individuals
US-Cn, Case V 5 .01	Giovanni Spataro (c. 1458–1541), Bolognese music theorist and composer; copy contains 1531 <i>aggiunta</i> ³ Acquired by US-Cn in 1915 from the firm of Laverà (Paris)
US-R, ML 171 A11	Anonymous reader (16th cent.) with defaced inscription, now illeg.; heavy annotations in Latin hand
US-Wcm, ML171 .A13 1529 Case	Dominik Andrijašević (1572–1639), Croatian Franciscan friar and prelate; inscribed as “Don Giovanni Domenico Andreassi dell’Aquila”; copy contains 1531 <i>aggiunta</i> Acquired by US-Wcm in 1905 from J. J. Maier
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 154) Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 42)

³ Blackburn, “Publishing Music Theory.”

Alfred Cortot (p. 1)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 69); appraised at 300 Reichsmark

Aaron, *Toscanello* (1539), 2°

US-Cn, Case fV 5 .012 Defaced inscription of “~~Clemio [illeg.]~~” (17th cent.); no annotations
Acquired by US-Cn in vii.1974 for \$250.00

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 154)
Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 271)

Aaron, *Toscanello* (1562), 4° upright

US-AAu, ML171 .A12 1562 Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954

F-Pn, Rés. VMB 17 André Pirro (1869–1943), French musicologist

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 2/50
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 64)

Aaron, *Trattato* (1525), 4° upright

F-Pm, 8° 35966 Bound with Aristoxenus, *Harmonicorum elementorum* (1562)
Jacques-Alexandre le Tenneur (1605–1659), French mathematician working at Paris, correspondent of Marin Mersenne and Galileo Galilei; deeded to following on 10.i.1653
Bibliothèque des Minimes de la place Royale (established 1611)

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 155)
Alfred Cortot (p. 1)
Horace de Landau (p. 545)
Giovanni Maria Lanfranco
Werner Wolffheim (p. 69); appraised at 750 Reichsmark

Agricola, *Deutsche Musica und Gesangbüchlein* (1560), 8°

D-B, 2 an: Eh 2682 Unknown minister of St. Ludwig’s Church at Celle
Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68); appraised together with 6 other vols. at -/24
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Agricola, *Deutsche Musica und Gesangbüchlein* (1563), 8^o

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 15 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
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Agricola, *Ein kurtz deudsche Musica* (c. 1528), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 34	Anonymous reader, contains German poem in 16th-cent. hand addressed “teurer Schüler” (“Dear Pupil,” fol. 44v)
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D-W, 9 Musica Helmst. (1) Michael van Meer (c. 1590–1653), Dutch lieutenant
working at Hamburg
Universitätsbibliothek Helmstedt (dissolved 1810)

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 8 other vols. at -/50 Werner Wolffheim (p. 70); appraised at 600 Reichsmark
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Agricola, *Musica figuralis deudsch* (1532), 8^o

US-Bp, M.149a.55 Anonymous reader (16th cent.); single illeg. annotation in
German hand (sig. 2C4r)
Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of
Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1542), 8°

US-Cn, Vault Case 3A 726	<p>Joannes Colostrius (16th cent.), student at Dresden Kreuzschule; contains <i>liber amicorum</i> filled with signatures and comments by his friends Alfred Cortot (p. 2)</p>
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Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 1/–
	Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 79); copy incomplete, missing date of publication
	Conrad Gesner (p. 143); likely

Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1545), 8°

D-W, 10 Musica Helmst. (2)	Anonymous reader, German and Latin inscriptions in 16th-cent. German hand (sig. L8v) Universitätsbibliothek Helmstedt (dissolved 1810)
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Agricola, *Rudimenta musices* (1539), 8°

Other readers	Werner Wolffheim (pp. 70–71); appraised at 350 Reichsmark
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Aiguino, *La illuminata* (1562), 4° upright

F-Pn, Res. 21	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
US-AAu, ML171 .A28	Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-Bp, M.149a.65	Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
US-Cn, Vault Case 4A 2102	Unknown reader with monogram FGV (17th cent.), probably from Padua; extensive annotations, including short compositions from Costanzo Porta; dated 1640 Alfred Cortot (pp. 2–3) Acquired at auction by US-Cn in 1971 from the firm of Jones (London)
US-Wcm, ML171 .A28	Inscription (17th cent.) “Pertenie ai Cantor m ^{or} de S ^{ta} Cruz,” probably referring to one of several Portuguese parishes by that name Acquired by US-Wcm in 1906
Other readers	Henry Wellesley (1791–1866), scholar, antiquarian, and curator of the Bodleian Library; copy bound with Aaron, <i>Compendiolo</i> (1547) and Lusitano, <i>Introduttione</i> (1561); copy sold in 1866 to Bernard Quaritch for £4.17s.6d ⁴ Werner Wolffheim (p. 71); appraised at 80 Reichsmark

⁴ *Catalogue of the...Library of...Dr. Wellesley*, 20.

Aiguino, *Il tesoro* (1581), 4° upright

US-I, MT55.A2 A28	Sold to US-I by the firm of H. Baron (London, established 1949); probably similar provenance as copy of Tigrini, <i>Compendio</i> (1588) at US-I
US-R, MT55. A289	Giulio Cesare Antonelli (fl. 1606–1649), Mantuan composer of madrigals; moderate annotations in Italian; dated 27.viii.1619 Acquired by US-R on 15.xii.1930 from Liepmannssohn for 100 Marks
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 64v); likely Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Cortot (p. 3) John IV of Portugal (p. 121) Horace de Landau (p. 550) Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 270)

Angelo da Picitono, *Fior angelico di musica* (1547), 4° upright

US-AAu, ML171 .A58	Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-Bp, ML171 .A58	Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
US-Cn, Case V3 .036	Anonymous reader (16th cent.), heavy annotations and corrections in Italian
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 72); appraised together with 2 other vols. at –/44 Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 62v) Charles Burney (p. 160) ⁵ Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 150) Horace de Landau (p. 548) Antonio Possevino Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 156); appraised at 200 Reichsmark

⁵ Burney, *A General History*, vol. 3, 160 describes it as “a work which, however difficult to find at present, is, from its dulness and pedantry, still more difficult to read.”

Aristoxenus, *Harmonicorum elementorum* (1562), 4° upright

F-Pm, 8° 35966	Bound with Aaron, <i>Trattato</i> (1525) Jacques-Alexandre le Tenneur (1605–1659), French mathematician working at Paris, correspondent of Marin Mersenne and Galileo Galilei; deeded to following on 10.i.1653 Bibliothèque des Minimes de la place Royale (established 1611)
F-Pn, Rés 106	Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834), French musicologist, director of Paris Opera
F-Pn, Rés 106 <i>bis</i>	Bibliothèque de Musique, Menus-Plaisirs du Roi, French royal household at Paris; purchased 17th cent.
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Toscanello</i> (1523, sig. H4r) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 32r) Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Cortot (p. 7) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 56) Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and bibliophile ⁶ Vincenzo Galilei (p. 35) Thomas Morley Antonio Possevino Francisco de Salinas (pp. 212–16) Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 75); appraised at 50 Reichsmark

Artusi, *L'arte de contraponto* (1586), 2°

F-Pn, Res. F 5	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
US-Cn, Case folio V 55 .045	Bound with Artusi, <i>Seconda parte</i> (1589) Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890)
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 173) Pietro Cerone; likely John IV of Portugal (p. 116)

⁶ Schaal, “Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.,” 134.

Artusi, *L'arte de contraponto* (1598), 2°

E-Mn, R/9277

Biblioteca Real de España

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 2/50
Charles Burney (p. 173)
Alfred Cortot (p. 8)

Artusi, *L'Artusi* (1600), 4° upright

Other readers

Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43)
Charles Burney (pp. 173–74)
John IV of Portugal (p. 116)

Artusi, *L'Artusi...seconda parte* (1603), 4° upright

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 2/50
Charles Burney (p. 173–74)
John IV of Portugal (p. 116)

Artusi, *Seconda parte dell'arte del contraponto* (1589), 2°

F-Pn, Res. F 6

Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer

US-Cn, Case folio V 55 .045

Bound with Artusi, *L'arte del contraponto* (1586)
Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890)

Other readers

Charles Burney (p. 173)
Thomas Selle (p. 72)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 75); appraised at 120 Reichsmark

Avianus, *Isagoge in libros musicae poeticae* (1581), 8°

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68); appraised together with 6 other vols. at –/24
Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 198)

Banchieri, *Conclusioni* (1609), 4° upright

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 74); appraised together with 10 other vols. at 1/30
	John IV of Portugal (p. 119)

Beringer, *Musica, das ist die Sing-Kunst* (1605), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 12 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
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Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 70); appraised at –/24 Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181); 1609 ed. also cited (ghost ed.)
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Bermudo, *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (1555), 2º

E-Mn, R/5256	Anonymous reader (18th cent.); light annotations in Spanish Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894), Spanish composer
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US-Cn, Case 5A 201 Alfred Cortot (p. 20)

Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely John IV of Portugal (p. 117) Werner Wolffheim (p. 81); appraised at 3,000 Reichsmark
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Beurhaus, *Erotematum musicae* (1573), 8°

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 69); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/42
	Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
	Charles Burney (p. 251)
	Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 64)
	Thomas Morley
	J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 196–97); 1580 ed. also cited

Blockland, *Instruction* (1587), 8^o

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
 Alfred Cortot (p. 24)

Bocchi, *Discorso sopra la musica* (1581), 8°

Other readers	Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 4 <i>lire</i> Horace de Landau (p. 554) Werner Wolffheim (p. 83); appraised at 50 Reichsmark
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Boethius, *Arithemica, Geometria, et Musica* (1492), 2°

US-Bp, Q.403.7 FOLIO	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); light annotations in <i>Arithmetica</i> only Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
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Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. 2A1r), <i>Toscanello</i> (1523, sig. 11r) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 60r–60v) Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), German composer ⁷ Pietro Cerone; likely Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 57) Giovanni Del Lago (fl. early 16th cent.), Italian music theorist; <i>Breve introduzione</i> (1540, p. [27]) Vincenzo Galilei (p. 62) John IV of Portugal (p. 117) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Thomas Morley Karl Pinterics (c. 1780–1831), private secretary to Prince Joseph Franz Pálffy ab Erdöd, amateur musician, confidant of Beethoven ⁸ Antonio Possevino Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 83); appraised at 80 Reichsmark; 1570 ed. also cited, appraised at 35 Reichsmark
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Boethius, *Opera* (1497–1499), 2°

D-Mu, 2 Inc.lat. 1273	Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist ⁹
I-Rsc, G. CS. 3.F.27 [item 2]	An excerpt of the larger book, bound with an excerpt from Cleonides, <i>Harmonicum</i> (1497), Glarean,

⁷ Kirkendale, “New Roads to Old Ideas,” 677.

⁸ Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, 2:163.

⁹ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 313.

Dodecachordon (1547), and Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555)
Santa Maria in Traspontina (established 1587); inscription probably 17th cent.

Other readers Alfred Cortot (pp. 24–25)
Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 273)

Boethius, *Opera* (1546), 2°

D-Mu, W 2 A.lat.19 Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist
Johann Eglof von Knöringen (1537–1575), bishop of Augsburg¹⁰

Other readers Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 57); 1570 ed. cited
Conrad Gesner (p. 142)

Bogentantz, *Rudimenta utriusque cantus* (1528), 4° upright

Other readers Conrad Gesner (p. 141)
Giovanni Maria Lanfranco
Antonio Possevino; likely

Bona, *Essempi delli passaggi* (1596), 4° upright

US-AAu, ML171 .B68 Bound with Bona, *Regole del contraponto* (1595)
Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 74); appraised together with 10 other vols. at 1/30
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 81)

Bona, *Regole del contraponto* (1595), 4° upright

US-AAu, ML171 .B68 Bound with Bona, *Essempi delli passaggi* (1596)
Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954

¹⁰ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 313.

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 74); appraised together with 10 other vols. at 1/30 Pietro Cerone; likely Werner Wolffheim (p. 83); appraised at 40 Reichsmark
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Bonaventura da Brescia, *Regula musicae planae* (1500), 8°

F-Pn, Rés. V 1533	“Magister T. Mineti Conventu M[illeg.]” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
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Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 72); 1515 ed. cited Antonfrancesco Doni Antonio Possevino; likely
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Bonaventura da Brescia, *Regula musice planae* (1507), 4° upright

GB-Lbl, K.1.g.10	Bound with Anonymous, <i>Cantorinus</i> (c. 1505)
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Bonaventura da Brescia, *Regula musice planae* (1518), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case 3A 725	Alfred Cortot (p. 26)
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Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio* (1594), 4° upright

F-Pn, Res. 146	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
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Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 16v); likely Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 29) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 4); 1599 ed. cited Werner Wolffheim (p. 84); appraised at 280 Reichsmark
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Bottrigari, *Il Melone* (1602), 4° upright

Other readers	Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 4) Giusto Fontanini (p. 458); appraised at 6 lire
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Bottrigari, *Il Patricio* (1593), 4° upright

I-Rc, Mus. 124	Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), Italian priest, composer, and music historian
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Other readers Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 3)
 Giusto Fontanini (p. 458); appraised at 4 *lire*

Bünting, *Oratio de musica* (1596), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 71); appraised together with 4 other
 vols. at –/36

Burmeister, *Hypomnematum musicae* (1599), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 70); appraised together with another
 vol. at –/12

Burmeister, *Musica autoschediastike* (1601), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 71); appraised together with 4 other
 vols. at –/36

Burzio, *Musices opusculum* (1487), 4° upright

F-Pn, Rés. V 1554 Abbey of Santa Giustina at Padua (dissolved 1797)

US-Cn, Inc. 6565 Count Filippo Linati (1816–1895), Italian politician, writer,
 and poet

US-Wcm, ML171 .B87 Anonymous reader (15th cent.), annotations in Latin
 Ciriaco Strozzi (1504–1565), Italian philosopher and
 relative of the Florentine Strozzi clan
 Purchased by US-Wcm on 8.iii.1927 from an unidentified
 French dealer

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 155)
 Pietro Cerone; likely
 Giovanni Maria Lanfranco
 Antonio Possevino
 Oratio Tigrini
 Werner Wolffheim (pp. 85–86); appraised at 2,000
 Reichsmark

Calvisius, *Compendium musicae* (1594), 8^{o11}

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68); appraised together with another vol. at –/15 Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
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Calvisius, *Melopoia* (1592), 8^o

Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29) Charles Burney (p. 252) Thomas Morley Thomas Selle (p. 72) Werner Wolffheim (p. 86); appraised at 70 Reichsmark
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Cannuzi, *Regule florum musices* (1510), 4^o upright

F-Pn, Rés. V 528	Alexander Corsino (16th cent.), otherwise unknown Francisco Ulm (16th cent.), possibly “Francisci Ulmij pictaviensis,” the French author born at Poitiers (fl. 1578)
Other readers	Pietro Cerone Antonio Possevino Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 87); appraised at 1,800 Reichsmark

Canobbio, *Breve trattato* (1571), 4^o upright

Other readers	Giusto Fontanini (p. 460); appraised at 4 <i>lire</i>
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Caroso, *Il ballarino* (1581), 4^o upright

US-Cn, Vault Case V 168 .144	Schloss Nordkirchen (completed 1734)
Other readers	Alfred Cortot (p. 45) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 40) Giusto Fontanini (p. 461); appraised at 4 <i>lire</i> ; date of publication given as 1582 Horace de Landau (p. 558)

¹¹ The existence of this edition, as specified the St. Anna-Kirche inventory, is doubtful; RISM gives 1602 as the year of publication.

Cerone, *Le regole...del canto fermo* (1609), 8°

Other readers

John IV of Portugal (p. 124)

Cinciarino, *Introduttorio abbreviato di musica piano* (1555), 4^o upright

I-Bc, B.58

Unknown reader (16th cent.) with illeg. inscription

Other readers

Antonio Possevino

Cleonides, *Harmonicum introductorium* (1497), 2°

I-Rsc, G. CS. 3.F.27 [item 1]

An excerpt of the larger book, bound with an excerpt from Boethius, *Opera* (1497), Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), and Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555) Santa Maria in Traspontina (established 1587); inscription probably 17th cent.

US-Cn, folio Inc. 5408

Alfred Cortot (p. 52)

Other readers

Pietro Cerone
 Conrad Gesner (pp. 141–42)
 Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and
 humanist¹²
 Horace de Landau (pp. 561 and 610)
 Giovanni Maria Lanfranco
 Antonio Possevin; likely
 Oratio Tigrini
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 189); 1501 ed. cited; appraised at
 125 Reichsmark

Cochlaeus, *Musica* (1507), 4° upright

B-Bc, Inc. A 182

Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist¹³

US-Wcm, ML171 .C62 Rosenwald

Anonymous reader (16th cent.), copious notes in German
hand with interleaved pages
Plate of “Mr. De La Place De Mont-Evray” (19th. cent.),
otherwise unknown

¹² Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a4r.

¹³ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 332.

Lessing J. Rosenwald (1891–1979), U.S. businessman and
book collector

Cochlaeus, *Tetrachordum musices* (1520), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case 4A 1009

Alfred Cortot (p. 52)

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 71); 1511, 1512, 1514, and 1516 eds.
cited; appraised together with another vol. at
–/16

Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 62)

Conrad Gesner (p. 143); likely

Werner Wolffheim (p. 90); 1512 ed. cited; appraised at 550
Reichsmark

Coclico, *Compendium musices* (1552), 4° upright

I-Bc, B.59

“excellentiss: Musico D. Valentino Dacar[?]” (16th cent.),
otherwise unknown; second line of inscription trimmed
out of margins, dated 1552 or 1557

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 72); appraised together with 2 other
vols. at –/44

Paul Bolduan (pp. 22/177)

Pietro Cerone; likely

Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and
bibliophile¹⁴

Conrad of Zabern, *De modo bene cantandi* (1474), 8°

Other readers

Conrad Gesner (p. 141)

Corso, *Dialogo del ballo* (1555), 8°

Other readers

Giusto Fontanini (p. 460); appraised at 4 *lire*

Crappius, *Musicae artis elementa* (1599), 12°

Other readers

Paul Bolduan (pp. 22/177)

¹⁴ Schaal, “Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.,” 132.

Crusius, *Isagoge ad artem musicam* (1592), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68); appraised together with another
vol. at –/15; another copy appraised together with 5
other vols. at –/24
Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179); 1593 ed. cited

Dedekind, *Eine Kinder Music* (1589), 8°

D-B, Mus. ant. theor. D10 Georg Johann Daniel Poelchau (1773–1836), German-
Baltic composer and music collector, purchased 1833

Dedekind, *Praecursor metricus musicae artis* (1590), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 3 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

Del Lago, *Breve introduttione* (1540), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case ML171 .D44 B7 1540 Bound with Zappa, *Regulette* (c. 1535)
Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist

Other readers Horace de Landau (p. 581)

Demantius, *Isagoge* (1607), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 6 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); 1603 also cited (ghost ed.);
appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/16; another
copy appraised together with 5 other vols. at –/24
Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)

Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1552), 4° upright

Other readers Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r)
Pietro Cerone; likely
Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 3 lire
Oratio Tigrini
Werner Wolffheim (p. 96); year of publication mistakenly
given as 1537; appraised at 100 Reichsmark

Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1553), 4° upright

US-Ws, ML3800 .D4 Cage	Anonymous reader (16th cent.), heavy annotations in Italian hand
Other readers	Charles Burney (pp. 160–61) Alfred Cortot (p. 60); copy formerly belonged to the Hedwig Marx-Kirsch-Stiftung, a musicological seminar (established 1921) at the University of Heidelberg

Dietrich, *Quaestiones musices brevissime* (1573), 8°

Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
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Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (1612), 2°

US-Cn, Vault Case 6A 138	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); dated 1688 Alfred Cortot (p. 62)
Other readers	Horace de Landau (p. 566); 1593 ed. cited Werner Wolffheim (p. 97); 1593 ed. cited; copy formerly belonged to James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books; appraised at 800 Reichsmark

Doni, *Dialogo della musica* (1544), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case VM 1578 D683d	Horace de Landau (p. 566) Canto and basso partbooks acquired by US-Cn around 1950 for £175; alto and tenor partbooks supplied in facsimile
Other readers	Charles Burney (pp. 158–59) Conrad Gesner (p. 156)

Dressler, *Musicae practicae elementa* (1571)

US-Cn, Case 3A 736	Unknown reader with monogram HB (16/17th cent.); same owner as copy of Faber, <i>Compendiolum</i> (1575) at US-Cn; extensive annotations Alfred Cortot (p. 65)
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Dressler, *Musicae practicae elementa* (1584)

D-HAu, Hs-Abt. Ed 1149 (2)	“Paulus Schleifferus” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1586 and 1608 Daniel Ludolf von Danckelmann (1648–1709), German nobleman and administrator
Other readers	Werner Wolffheim (p. 99); 1584 ed. cited; appraised at 90 Reichsmark

Durán, *Lux bella* (1492), 4° upright

Other readers	Pietro Cerone John IV of Portugal (p. 118)
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Euclid, *Le livre de la musique* (1566), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case 3A 734	Bound with Ptolemy, <i>Mathematicae constructionis</i> (Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1577) Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.), heavy annotations in Latin Alfred Cortot (p. 77)
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 54r) Vincenzo Galilei (p. 35)

G. Faber, *Musices practicae erotematum* (1553), 8°

US-Cn, Case 3A 730	Johann Gustav Friedrich Billroth (1808–1836), German theologian and philosopher Julius Klengel (1859–1933), German cellist and composer Alfred Cortot (p. 73)
Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25) Charles Burney (p. 251), date of publication mistakenly given as 1552 Thomas Selle (p. 72) Werner Wolffheim (p. 101); appraised at 350 Reichsmark

H. Faber, *Ad musicam practicam* (1550), 8°

US-Bp, **M.149a.66	“Melchior flaconis” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; moderate annotations in Latin in German hand; dated 18.x[?].1553
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Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of
Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179); 1568 ed. cited

H. Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (1573), 8°

US-Bp, M.149a.57 Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of
Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (pp. 67–68); 1582 and 1597 eds. cited;
appraised together with 8 other vols. at –/50; another
copy appraised together with 3 other vols. at –/12
John IV of Portugal (p. 124)
Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179); 1551 ed. cited; 1569 and 1609
eds. also cited (ghost eds.)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 101); 1585 ed. cited; appraised at 80
Reichsmark

H. Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (1575), 8°

US-Cn, Case 3A 737 Unknown reader with monogram HB (16th/17th cent.);
same owner as copy of Dressler, *Musicae practicae
elementa* (1571) at US-Cn; interleaved pages with
extensive marginalia
Alfred Cortot (p. 73)

H. Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (1580), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 1022 Bookplate (18th/19th cent.) of Canons Regular at
Rottenbuch Abbey (Bavaria, Germany)

H. Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (1608), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 8 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

H. Faber, *Musica, ein Kurzer Inhalt der Singekunst* (1572), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67, 69); 1586 ed. cited; 1576, 1583,
and 1585 eds. also cited (all ghost eds.); appraised
together with 8 other vols. at –/50; another copy

appraised together with 3 other vols. at –/12; another copy appraised together with 6 other vols. at –/24; other copy appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/42
Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181); 1591 ed. also cited (ghost ed.)

H. Faber, *Musica, kurtze und einfeltige Anleitung der Singkunst* (1605), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 11 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181)

H. Faber, *Musicae compendium latino germanicum* (1608), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 4 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

N. Faber (=Aventinus), *Musicae rudimenta* (1516), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 76); no appraisal
Thomas Morley
Antonio Possevino
Werner Wolffheim (pp. 101–102); appraised at 460
Reichsmark

Fesser, *Paideia musicae* (1572), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68); appraised together with 6 other vols. at –/24

Figulus, *Libri primi musicae practicae* (1565), 8°

D-W, 2.11 Musica (4) Johannes Major (1565–1654), German Lutheran theologian; gift of author

Finck, *Practica musica* (1556), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (pp. 72–73); appraised together with 2 other vols. at –/54; another copy appraised together with 2 other vols. at –/44

Charles Burney (p. 251)
John IV of Portugal (p. 118)

Fogliano, *Musica theorica* (1529), 2°

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 157)
 Pietro Cerone; likely
 Alfred Cortot (p. 77–78)
 Vincenzo Galilei (p. 112)
 Conrad Gesner (pp. 143–44)
 John IV of Portugal (p. 115)
 Horace de Landau (p. 570)
 Antonio Possevino
 Francisco de Salinas (pp. 228–31)
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 104); copy formerly belonged to
 James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English
 bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music
 books; appraised at 550 Reichsmark
 Gioseffo Zarlino; *Istitutioni* (1558, p. 279)

Frisius, *Brevis musicae isagoge* (1554), 4° oblong

CH-Zz, 5.399 “Ex libris Michaelis Gualtheri Bas.” (16th/17th cent.),
 otherwise unknown
 Unknown armorial stamp (17th/18th cent.)

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64); appraised at –/12
 Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)
 Conrad Gesner (p. 143)
 J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 198)

Froelich, *Vom Preiss...der lieblichen kunst Musica* (1540), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 71); appraised together with 4 other
 vols. at –/36

Froschius, *Rerum musicarum opusculum* (1535), 2°

CH-BEsu, ZB Hospians 98:2 Previously-unrecognized state of this ed. with unknown
 coat of arms printed on t.p.
 No other indications of provenance

D-Mu, W 2 Art. 259	Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist ¹⁵
I-Fn, MAGL.1.5.245	“Francisci Corz.” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised at –/34 Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179) Charles Burney (p. 248) Alfred Cortot (p. 80); copy formerly belonged to “Jod. Nass” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown, dated 1564 Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 62) Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and bibliophile ¹⁶ Conrad Gesner (p. 143) John IV of Portugal (p. 116) Horace de Landau (p. 571) Thomas Selle (p. 72) Werner Wolffheim (p. 105); appraised at 400 Reichsmark

Gaffurius, *Angelicum ac divinum opus* (1508), 2°

US-Cn	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); light annotations in Latin Acquired by US-Cn in vii.1974
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. b1r) Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43) Charles Burney (p. 153) Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 82) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Werner Wolffheim (pp. 107–108); appraised at 600 Reichsmark

Gaffurius, *De harmonia* (1518), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 192	Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.), inscriptions on front cover in German hand, same hand as D-Mbs copy of Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558)
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¹⁵ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 319.

¹⁶ Schaal, “Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.,” 135.

D-Mu, W 2 Art. 239	Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist Peter Tschudi (fl. 16th cent.), a student of Glarean's
D-W, 149.4 Quod. 2° (2)	Heinrich Faber (before 1500–1552), extensive annotations including a reading list of books about music
F-Pn, Réserve 4° S-4604	Jean Grolier (c. 1499–1565), treasurer-general of France and book collector; gift of author François Rasse des Noeux (d. 1581), French surgeon; dated 1546 at Paris “G. R.” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1671 Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés at Paris (dissolved 1792); dated 1674 Unknown armorial stamp (17th cent.)
I-Rc, L IX 50	Giovanthomaso Cimello (1510–1579), Italian composer, poet, and music theorist
US-Cn, Case fV 304 .318	Anonymous reader (18th cent.), annotations in Italian and Latin James de Rothschild (1792–1868), French banker; dated 1845 Horace de Landau (p. 571)
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. 2D4r) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r, 62v) Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 42) Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25) Charles Burney (pp. 152–53) Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 82) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 61) Giovanni Del Lago (fl. early 16th cent.), Italian music theorist; <i>Breve introduzione</i> (1540, p. [36]) Conrad Gesner (p. 141) George Hibbert (1757–1837), English merchant and politician; copy formerly belonged to Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), French statesman and historian, and bound with Gaffurius, <i>Practica</i> (1496) ¹⁷ Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 279) Francisco de Salinas (pp. 223–25) Werner Wolffheim (p. 108); appraised at 700 Reichsmark

¹⁷ Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library of George Hibbert, Esq.*, 187.

Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1496), 2^o

F-Pm, Inc 1488-2	Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455–1536), French mathematician and music theorist Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés at Paris (dissolved 1792)
F-Pm, Inc D 888-2	Louis Bizeau (fl. 1670), French bibliophile Bibliothèque de Collège de Sorbonne (disbanded 1791)
F-Pn, Rés. V 551	“Johannes Maria” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown Benedictine monk at San Sisto, Piacenza San Giorgio Monastery at Venice (dissolved 1806)
F-TLm, Res. Mus. B.1	Domenican Convent of Toulouse
GB-Cu, Inc.3.B.7.26[1926]	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); annotations in Latin in humanistic hand “Any. ^{to} R. ^{to} ” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown Formerly bound with Gaffurius, <i>Theorica musicae</i> (1492), now GB-Cu, Inc.3.B.7.23[1923].
I-Fn, C3.27	“Francesci Caesaris Augusti munificentia” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
US-Wcm, ML171 .G12	“Hoc volume p[er] me frater paulu[m] Gerardu[m] venetu” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown, probably responsible for the hand coloration to the woodcut illustrations Piaco Soranzo (mid-18th cent.); dated 1740 at Venice Acquired by US-Wcm in 1907
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545, sig. A2v), <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. b2v), <i>Toscanello</i> (1523, sig. L1v) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r); likely Charles Burney (p. 153) Pietro Cerone Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 61) Vincenzo Galilei (p. 62) Conrad Gesner (p. 141) George Hibbert (1757–1837); English merchant and politician; copy formerly belonged to Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), French statesman and historian, and bound with Gaffurius, <i>De harmonia</i> (1518) ¹⁸ John IV of Portugal (p. 115) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco

¹⁸ Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library of George Hibbert, Esq.*, 187.

Thomas Morley
 Antonio Possevino; likely
 Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 278)
 Francisco de Salinas (p. 223)
 Oratio Tigrini
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 108); appraised at 300 Reichsmark
 Gioseffo Zarlino; *Istitutioni* (1558, p. 279)

Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1497), 2°

D-Mu, 2 Inc.lat. 1209	Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist ¹⁹
E-SA, Biblioteca General, I.155	Unknown student at University of Salamanca, c. 1590 ²⁰
GB-Cu, Inc.3.B.23.8[2183]	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); annotations in Latin Richard Heber (1773–1833), English collector Purchased by GB-Cu from Sotheby's in 1834
GB-Lbl, K.1.g.4	Rudolf Johann, Freiherr von Wrisberg (1677–1764) Gaetano Pinali (1759–1846), Italian lawyer and scholar Johann Caspar Aiblinger (1779–1867), German composer; dated 1835 at Verona; gift of Pinali
I-MOe, α A.5.20	Jesuit college at Mirandola in Emilia-Romagna, probably acquired during 17th cent.
I-TVd, 13774.2	Bound with Gaffurius, <i>Theorica musicae</i> (1492) Giambattista Rossi (1737–1826); donated his large collection to I-TVd in 1811 after becoming librarian there ²¹
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 153)

Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1502), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 194	Monastery of St. Zeno, Bavaria
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 153) Horace de Landau (p. 571)

¹⁹ Fenlon and Groote, "Heinrich Glarean's Books," 319.

²⁰ Knighton, "Gaffurius, Urrede, and Studying Music at Salamanca University around 1500."

²¹ Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 206.

Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1512), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 196	Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.); marginalia and corrections in Latin
E-Mn, M/1010	Henry Gauntlett (1805–1876), English organist and composer, purchased at Chatham Place, London Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894), Spanish composer
I-Fn, MAGL.1.4.180	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); dated 16.iii.1514 at Florence Unknown reader with stamped monogram DSA (18th cent.), otherwise unknown
P-Ln, Res. 2835.1.A	Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Lisbon (18th cent.) José Maria de Melo (1756–1818), bishop of Algarve
US-CHH, VF781 G131p vault	Anonymous reader (18th cent.), possibly a book dealer; light annotations and corrections in French hand, including bibliographical references
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 153) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 61)

Gaffurius, *Theorica musicae* (1492), 2°

F-Pn, Vél. 1028	“Ill’mo Dño Comiti Amico D. Caelestinus Monachus Benedictino Casinensis dono dedit” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown ²²
GB-Cu, Inc.3.B.7.23[1923]	Formerly bound with Gaffurius, <i>Practica musice</i> (1496), now GB-Cu, Inc.3.B.7.26[1926]
GB,Cu, Inc.3.B.7.23[1924]	Anonymous reader (16th cent.), dated 1490 at Venice Undated prices £2.2s.– and 20/– [= £1]. Richard Heber (1773–1833), English collector Purchased by GB-Cu from Sotheby’s in 1834
US-Cn, Vault Inc. f 6055	Basilica of San Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna; acquired during 17th cent. Unknown armorial plate (18th/19th cent.)

²² Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 206.

US-R, ML171 .G131t	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); heavy annotations and corrections in Latin James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books Acquired by US-R on 12.vii.1930 from Leo Olschki for \$400
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545, sig. B3r) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r); likely Charles Burney (pp. 152–53) Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (pp. 81–82) Vincenzo Galilei (p. 62) Conrad Gesner (p. 141) John IV of Portugal (p. 115) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Thomas Morley Sacred Harmonic Society (<i>Supplement</i> , p. 26) Francisco de Salinas (p. 223) Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 108); appraised at 800 Reichsmark

Gaffurius, *Theoricum opus* (1480), 4° upright

GB-Cu, Inc.5.B.11.10[2102]	Unknown reader (16th cent.), annotations in Italian Unknown reader (17th cent.), annotations in English George I (1660–1727), King of England Copy presented to GB-Cu by George I in 1715
US-Cn, Vault Inc 6721	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); moderate annotations in Latin Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890)
Other readers	Charles Burney (pp. 152–53)

Galilei, *Dialogo* (1581), 2°

E-Msi, BH FLL 10046	Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús (established late 16th cent., dissolved 1767) University of Alcalá, library (established 1776, dissolved 1836 and transferred to E-Msi) Biblioteca de Filosofía y Letras, Madrid, a now-closed departmental library at E-Msi
US-Cn, Case 6A 140	Alfred Cortot (p. 83)

Other readers

Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43)
Charles Burney (pp. 172–73)
Pietro Cerone
Edmond de Cousse-maker (pp. 64–65)
Henry Wellesley (1791–1866), scholar, antiquarian, and
curator of the Bodleian Library; copy sold in 1866 to
Bernard Quaritch for 9/–²³
Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 15 *lire*
George Hibbert (1757–1837); English merchant and
politician²⁴
Horace de Landau (p. 572)
Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 279)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 109); copy formerly belonged to
Julius Marshall (1836–1903), English collector and
amateur musician, and James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th
cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing
in music books; appraised at 300 Reichsmark

Galilei, *Dialogo* (1602), 2°

F-Pm, 2° 4731 A

Pierre-Jean Gentil (17th cent.), otherwise unknown French
priest; donated to following in 1713
Monastery of Notre-Dame-des-Blancs-Manteux at Paris

US-Wcm, ML171 .G15 1602 Case

Francesco Maria Berio (1765–1820), Marchese of Salza,
opera librettist
William Ward (1750–1823), British peer and politician

Other readers

Antonio Possevino
Gioseffo Zarlino; *De tutte l'opere* (1588, 3:passim)

Galilei, *Discorso* (1589), 8°

I-Fm, MAG.6.A.XII.34

Convent of Servite Order of SS Annunziata at Florence
(suppressed 1808 and transferred to I-Fm)

Other readers

Charles Burney (p. 172)
Alfred Cortot (p. 84)
Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 4 *lire*
Horace de Landau (p. 572)
Antonio Possevino

²³ *Catalogue of the...Library of...Dr. Wellesley*, 20.

²⁴ Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library of George Hibbert, Esq.*, 187.

Galilei, *Fronimo*, (1568–1569), 2°

US-Cn, Case 6A 140

Alfred Cortot (p. 83); catalog also cites 1584 ed.

Other readers

Paul Bolduan (pp. 228/129)

Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 10 *lire*

Horace de Landau (p. 572)

Werner Wolffheim (p. 109); appraised at 680 Reichsmark

Galilei, *Fronimo*, (1584), 2°

US-AAu, MT640 .G16 1584

Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954

Galliculus, *Isagoge de compositione cantus* (1520), 8°

US-R, ML171 .G168.1

Anonymous reader (16th cent.), annotations in Latin, including rubrication and musical notation

Unknown reader with stamped device with monogram EG (18th cent.)

Horace de Landau (p. 572)

Acquired by US-R on 7.vii.1952 from Gottlieb for \$97.00

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/30

Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)

Galliculus, *Libellus de compositione cantus* (1538), 8°

US-Cn, Case MT5.5 .R52 1538

Bound with Rhau, *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* (1538) and Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae* (1538)

Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); 1546 ed. cited, appraised together with 3 other vols. at 1/–

Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179); 1548 ed. cited

Charles Burney (p. 247); 1553 ed. also cited

Alfred Cortot (p. 84); 1551 ed. cited; bound with Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae* (1552)

Thomas Selle (p. 72); 1546 ed. also cited

Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (1535), 4° oblong

D-W, 3.3 Musica	“Signor Domingo” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; gift of author, with 20 autograph flyl. at back of vol. providing sample cadences
Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 204/77) Antonfrancesco Doni Conrad Gesner (p. 156)

Ganassi, *Regola rubertina* and *Lettione seconda* (1542–1543), 4° oblong

US-Wcm, MT338 .G3 Case	Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890)
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64), no appraisal Antonfrancesco Doni Conrad Gesner (p. 156)

Gesius, *Synopsis doctrinae musicae* (1606), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 5 in a large binder’s vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 6 other vols. at 1/–

Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), 2°²⁵

A-Gu, III 18845	Johannes Frölich, student at Freiburg University, matriculated ii.1558; gift of author
B-Ac, TH 100306	Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist; personal copy including manuscript commentary, correction, and teaching notes Johann Eglof von Knöringen (1537–1575), bishop of Augsburg Library of University of Ingolstadt (closed 1800) Leon de Burbure de Wesembeek (1812–1889), Belgian composer and conductor, purchased in 1879 ²⁶

²⁵ For gifts of author, see Kölbl, “The Politics of Dedication,” 61–62; and Groote et al., “Evidence for Glarean’s Music Lectures.”

²⁶ Kölbl, “Musiktheorie im Druckerpress und Hörsaal”; and Schreurs, “Topstukkendecreet.”

B-Bc, VII 9.742C	Johannes Sthenius (16th cent.), otherwise unknown mathematician; undated gift of author
B-Lc, L 037 GLARE	Sebastian Seemann (1492–1551), abbot of St. Urban monastery at Aarau; gift of author dated 1549
CH-Sk, AJ 149 bis	Johannes Jordan, bishop of Sion (served 1548–1565); gift of author dated 1557
CH-SGs, NN rechts II 6	Diethelm Blarer von Wartensee, abbot of St. Gall monastery (served 1530–1564); gift of author dated 1549
CH-SO, Rar I 243	Bound with Hermas Laetmatius, <i>De instauranda religione libri IX</i> (c. 1544) Johannes Aal (c. 1500–1553), Swiss theologian and composer; gift of author dated 1549
CH-SO, Rar I 243 bis	Rudolf Götschi, student at Freiburg University, matriculated iv.1547; gift of author dated 1548
CH-SO, Rar I 243 ter	Johann Rudolf Stör von Störenberg, abbot of Murbach monastery at Alsace (served 1542–1570); gift of author dated 1549
CH-Zz, Rb 41:a	Bonaventura von Wellenberg (1494–1555), abbot of Rheinau monastery; gift of author dated 1549
D-B, Bibl. Diez fol. 556	Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817), Prussian diplomat and bibliophile Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin
D-DI, XVII 707	Christoph von Freyberg (c. 1517–1584), dean of Ausburg cathedral; gift of author dated 1560
D-Mbs, 2° L. imp. c. n. mss. 73	Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–1557), chancellor of bishop of Augsburg, gift of author dated 1550 Johann Eglof von Knöringen (1537–1575), bishop of Augsburg Library of University of Ingolstadt (closed 1800)
D-Mu, W 2 Art. 127	Wolfgang Hunger (1511–1555), professor of law at Ingolstadt; gift of author dated 1548
D-OB, Musiksammlung XVIII/111	Caspar Kindelmann, abbot of Ottobeuren monastery (served 1547–1584); gift of author dated 1552

D-Sl, Ra 16 Gla 1	Christoph Metzler (1490–1561), bishop of Constance; gift of author dated 1554
D-W, 2.3 Musica 2°	Fabianus Natus (1591–1634), German theologian
E-Msi, BH DER 2069	“dono d. Bouis” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; inscribed at Alcalá Jesuit College of San Ildefonso at Alcalá (dissolved 1767); acquired in 1705 for 87 unspecific units of currency University of Alcalá, library (established 1776, dissolved 1836 and transferred to E-Msi)
F-Pn, Rés. F 126	Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834), French musicologist, director of Paris Opera François-Louis Perne (1772–1832), French composer, director of Conservatoire de Paris
F-Pn, Rés. F 127	Bound with Glarean, <i>Chronologia</i> (1540). Georg Spirer, probably a student at Freiburg University; gift of author dated 1548 Jean-Georges Kastner (1810–1867), French composer ²⁷
F-Pn, Rés. F 882	Auguste Bottée de Toulmon (1797–1850), French musicologist, librarian at Conservatoire de Paris
F-Pn, Rés. V 543	Henry II (1519–1559), king of France
I-Rsc, G. CS. 3.F.27 [item 3]	Bound with an excerpt from Cleonides, <i>Harmonicum</i> (1497), an excerpt from Boethius, <i>Opera</i> (1497), and Vicentino, <i>L’antica musica</i> (1555) Santa Maria in Traspontina (established 1587); inscription probably 17th cent.
P-Ln, Res. 295.A	Convento da Graça (16th cent.), Augustinian convent at Lisbon
US-NH, Music Deposit 35	Anonymous reader (19th cent.), heavy annotations in German hand
US-R, Vault ML171 .G547	Bartholmeus Emanuel (fl. 16th cent.), perhaps the Roman doctor and author; gift of author Defaced inscription of “Christofori [illeg.]” (17th/18th cent.)

²⁷ Described in Groote et al., “Evidence for Glarean’s Music Lectures.”

Acquired by US-R on 26.vi.1928 from Gottschalk for 257 Marks

US-Wcm, ML171 .G54

Prepared from a now-lost copy of Publius Francisco Spinola; gift of author dated 1553²⁸

Other readers²⁹

M. Thomas Algoer, student at Freiburg University, matriculated iv.1551; gift of author dated 1555
St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised at -/34
Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 66r)
Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), Dutch philosopher, scientist, and schoolmaster at Dordrecht³⁰
Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181)
Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43)
Charles Burney (p. 249–51)
Pietro Cerone
Alfred Cortot (p. 89)
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 63); copy formerly belonged to “R. Heber” and “Farrenc” (both otherwise unknown)
Peter Eichhorn, abbot of Wettinger monastery (served 1550–1563); probable gift of author, 1550
Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818), German musician
Vincenzo Galilei (p. 17)
Johannes Hartung (1505–1579), professor of Greek and Hebrew at Freiburg University; probable gift of author
John Hawkins (1719–1789), English music historian
Laurentius von Heidegg (d. 1549) or Johann Christian Grüth (fl. mid-16th cent.), both abbots of Muri monastery; probable gift of author in 1553 or earlier
Johann Lauterbach (1531–1593), German historian, pedagogue, and poet
John IV of Portugal (p. 118)
Horace de Landau (p. 574)
Joseph Franz von Lobkowitz (1772–1816), Bohemian aristocrat; copy also read by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), German composer³¹
Balthasar Mäder (d. 1619), member of Benedictine monastery at Zweifalten; dated 1609

²⁸ Weiss, “Vandals, Students, or Scholars?” 243; and Kölbl, “The Politics of Dedication,” 62.

²⁹ Many of these additional readers are given in Kölbl, “The Politics of Dedication”; and Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s World.”

³⁰ Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185.

³¹ Kirkendale, “New Roads to Old Ideas,” 677.

Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), French polymathic writer
 Thomas Morley
 Antonio Possevino
 Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 279)
 Francisco de Salinas (225–28)
 Thomas Selle (p. 72)
 Wolfgang Theodor von Trautmannsdorff, student at
 Freiburg University, matriculated ix.1553; gift of author
 dated 1554
 Georg Tschudi, abbot of Kreuzlingen monastery (served
 1545–1566); probable gift of author dated 1553 or
 earlier
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 113); appraised at 200 Reichsmark
 Gioseffo Zarlino; cited in a letter Gian Vincenzo Pinelli³²

Glarean, *Isagoge in musicen* (1516), 4° upright

CH-SO, Rar 220	Bound with Glarean, <i>Helvetiae descriptio</i> (1554) Hieronymus von Roll (fl. mid-16th cent.), student of Glarean and later town councilman at Solothurn; gift of author ³³
CH-Zz, 4 III.M.84 ³⁴	Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), Swiss leader of the Reformation; gift of author
F-Pn, Rés. 494	Auguste Vincent (1829–1888), French composer and book collector
US-Cn, Case 4A 1006	Alfred Cortot (p. 80–81)
Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179) Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 289) Peter Falck (c. 1468–1519), Swiss humanist and town clerk at Freiburg and dedicatee of the <i>Isagoge</i> ; copy formerly belonged to library of the Kapuzinerkloster at Freiburg (dissolved 1822) ³⁵ Conrad Gesner (p. 142) Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Werner Wolffheim (p. 113); appraised at 300 Reichsmark

³² Quoted in Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra*, 160.

³³ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 334.

³⁴ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 334.

³⁵ Wagner, *Peter Falcks Bibliothek*, 58.

Glarean, *Musicae epitome* (1557), 8°

D-B, Mus.ms.autogr.theor.Glarean Bound with several other books, including Gregor Faber's
Musices practices erotemata libri duo (1553)
Wolfgang Jacob Rainer, student at Freiburg University,
matriculated vi.1559³⁶

Glarean, *Musicae epitome* (1559), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus.th. 3765 Johann Georg von Werdenstein, gift of author³⁷

US-Bp, Brown M.149a.58 Anonymous reader (17th/18th cent.); moderate annotations
in Latin
Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of
Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

US-Cn, Case 3A 732 Anonymous student (16th cent.); heavy annotations
Stamp of “Konigliche Band Bibliothek” (18th/19th cent.)
Alfred Cortot (not in catalog)³⁸

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 8 other
vols. at –/50
Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)³⁹

Greiter, *Elementale musicum* (1544), 8°

Other readers Conrad Gesner (p. 144)

Gumpeltzhaimer, *Compendium musicae* (1595), 8°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 22/177)

³⁶ Groote, “Studying Music and Arithmentic with Glarean,” 196. Described in Groote et al., “Evidence for Glarean’s Music Lectures.”

³⁷ Fenlon and Groote, “Heinrich Glarean’s Books,” 334; Groote, “Studying Music and Arithmentic with Glarean, 197.

³⁸ Described in Groote et al., “Evidence for Glarean’s Music Lectures.”

³⁹ Bolduan gives the year of publication as 1549. There are no known musical publications by Glarean from that year and Bolduan’s entries contain a number of errors in dating.

Harnisch, *Artis musicae* (1608), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 70); appraised together with 2 other vols. at –/43
Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)

Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1537), 4° upright

US-Bp, ML171 .H38 Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.); annotations to musical examples concerning lengths of rests and ligatures; unknown “Kyrie” copied into back of vol. Armorial stamp of “BIBLIOTH: AC[illeg.] RAGEN[illeg.]” (18th cent), otherwise unknown
Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (pp. 67, 71); 1532 and 1540 eds. cited; appraised together with 8 other vols. at –/50; another copy appraised together with another vol. at –/16
Charles Burney (p. 248)
Pietro Cerone; likely
Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 63); 1540 ed. cited
Conrad Gesner (p. 145)
Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist⁴⁰
Horace de Landau (p. 577)
Antonio Possevino
Werner Wolffheim (p. 118); appraised at 350 Reichsmark

Hitzenhauer, *Perfacilis, brevis et expedita ratio componendi* (1585), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 69); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/42
Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 198)

Hofmann, *Brevis synopsis de modis seu tonis* (1605), 8°

Other readers John IV of Portugal (p. 119)

⁴⁰ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a4r.

Hofmann, *Doctrina de tonis* (1582), 8°

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 251–52)

Keinspeck, *Lilium musice plane* (1500), 8°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 72)
Conrad Gesner (p. 144)

Koswick, *Compendiaria musice* (1518), 4° upright

D-Mbs, 4° Mus. th. 821 “Frater Ioannes” (16th cent.), an otherwise unknown monk
at the Benedictine monastery in Munich; several other
books from same owner at D-Mbs

US-Cn, Case 4A 108 Alfred Cortot (p. 210)

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 247), author mistakenly identified as
“Roswick”

Lampadius, *Compendium musices* (1537), 8°

US-Cn, Case 4A 1011 Alfred Cortot (p. 106)

Other readers Pietro Aaron; *Compendiolo* (1545, sig. B2v)
St. Anna-Kirche (p. 72); appraised together with 4 other
vols. at 1/12
Charles Burney (p. 248)
Pietro Cerone
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 64); 1554 ed. cited
Conrad Gesner (p. 143); 1541 ed. cited
Thomas Selle (p. 72); 1541 ed. cited

Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (1533), 4° oblong

E-Mn, M/596 Vincent Guarnaschelli (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), king of Spain

I-Fm, R.u.67 Convent of Servite Order of SS Annunziata at Florence
(suppressed 1808 and transferred to I-Fm)

I-Rsc, G. CS. 2.B.35 “Hic liber est me: Bartholomei de Sardiensis Parmensis”
(16th cent.), otherwise unknown

I-Vnm, Musica 1406	“Jacopo Missanis” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown
US-R, Vault ML 171 .L268	Defaced inscription (probably 16th cent.) “Domenico Lacavone[?]” (17th cent.); dated 8.vi.1630 Acquired by US-R on 15.xii.1930 from Liepmannssohn for 200 Reichsmark
US-Wcm, ML171 .L26	“Josepho Alamania” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-Wcm on 23.viii.1906 from Liepmannssohn
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r) Charles Burney (p. 157); date of publication mistakenly given as 1538 ⁴¹ Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 107) Antonfrancesco Doni Antonio Possevino Werner Wolffheim (p. 127); copy formerly belonged to James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books; appraised at 350 Reichsmark Giuseffo Zarlino; <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558, p. 279)

Lefèvre d’Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1496), 2°

B-Gu, BHSL.RES.0275/-1	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); rubricated entire vol. in red and blue
US-CHH, 517.34 1496 Inc.	Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome William Salloch (1906– 1990), rare book dealer at New York City
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 62r) Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), Dutch philosopher, scientist, and schoolmaster at Dordrecht ⁴² Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179) Pietro Cerone; likely

⁴¹ Burney, *A General History*, 3:158, says of Lanfranco’s and Vanneo’s books “they are now become so scarce, that I have never been so fortunate as to procure copies of them.”

⁴² Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185.

Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552), German humanist and music theorist⁴³
 Alfred Cortot (p. 111); 1514 ed. cited
 Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522), Italian music theorist and composer⁴⁴
 Vincenzo Galilei (p. 9)
 Conrad Gesner (p. 135)
 Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist⁴⁵
 John IV of Portugal (p. 119)
 Thomas Morley
 Antonio Possevino
 Francisco de Salinas (pp. 222–23)
 Oratio Tigrini
 Gioseffo Zarlino; *Istitutioni* (1558, p. 279)

Lefèvre d’Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1551), 4^o upright

I-Rc, Mus. 709	Bound with Bona, <i>Regole del contraponto</i> (1595) “Andui Subicium” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1692 Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), Italian priest, composer, and music historian
US-Bp, M.149a.75	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); light annotations in Latin, faded and trimmed out of margins Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
US-Cn, Case V 5 .5	“Ex libris Liechtensteinianis” (19th cent.)
US-I, Rare ML171 .L49 1551	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); dated 5.i.1571 Defaced <i>ex libris</i> stamp in black ink (probably 18th cent.) Anonymous reader (19th cent.), annotations in French with luxurious binding
Other readers	Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 63) Conrad Gesner (pp. 142–43) Horace de Landau (p. 568) Werner Wolffheim (p. 101); appraised at 70 Reichsmark

⁴³ Miller, “Gaffurius’s *Practica musicae*,” 158.

⁴⁴ Miller, “Origins and Influence,” 158.

⁴⁵ Miller, “Origins and Influence,” 158.

Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Musica libris quatuor demonstrata* (1552), 4° upright

F-Pn, 4° A 12423	Title leaf lacking Convent of Discalced Carmelites, Paris; dated 1685[?]; light annotations in Latin Biblioteca de Filosofia y Letras, Madrid, a now-closed departmental library at E-Msi Acquired by F-Pn in 1815
US-R, ML171 .L493m.2	“John Shargool” (19th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1805 “Kurth Garbel and Sons, Holland PA” (19th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-R from Liepmannssohn on 15.xii.1930 for 50 Reichsmark
Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 258) Alfred Cortot (p. 111)

Lippius, *Synopsius musicae* (1612), 8°

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 65); appraised at –/30; another copy appraised together with 6 other vols. at 1/–
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Listenius, *Musica* (1548), 8°

D-W, 2.17.6 Musica	“Jordanus Lucken” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1551
US-R, ML171 .L773 1548	Godfrey Edward Pellew Arkwright (1864–1944), British musicologist Acquired by US-R on 6.i.1948 from Herbert Reichner for \$55.00
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/30; 1577 ed. also cited, appraised at –/10; another copy appraised together with 4 other vols. at – /42 Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29); 1540 ed. also cited. Alfred Cortot (p. 113); 1551 ed. cited Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 63) Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a4r.

Thomas Morley
Antonio Possevino; likely
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 197); 1569 ed. cited

Listenius, *Musica* (c. 1550), 8°

US-R, ML171 .L773 1550	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); dated 1670 Acquired by US-R on 12.ix.1930 from Liepmannsohn for 112½ Reichsmark
Other readers	Werner Wolffheim (p. 129); appraised at 125 Reichsmark

Listenius, *Rudimenta musicae* (1534), 8°

D-HAu, AB 154382 (4)	“Ioannis a Grausch” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; extensive annotations in German, Greek, and Latin in a German hand
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Listenius, *Rudimenta musicae* (1535), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2052	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); light annotations in Latin
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Listenius, *Rudimenta musicae* (1536), 8°

F-Pn, Rés. VMF 81	Alfred Cortot (p. 113) Genefviève Thibault (1902–1975), French musicologist
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (pp. 67); 1537 ed. also cited; appraised together with 8 other vols. at –/50 Conrad Gesner (p. 144) John IV of Portugal (p. 124) Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 238); 1540 ed. cited

Listenius, *Rudimenta musicae* (1537), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 7196 [item 2]	Achilles Gasser (1505–1577), German physician and astrologer; dated 1540 at Augsburg
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Listenius, *Rudimenta musicae* (1538), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2053	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); moderate annotations in Latin
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Lossius, *Erotemata musicae practicae* (1579), 8°

- D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2108 “Casparus Blas[illeg.]” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
Carthusian monk; dated 1586
Another inscription, illeg. (17th cent.); dated 1614
- Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
Horace de Landau (p. 592); 1570 ed. cited
Thomas Morley
Antonio Possevino
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 196); 1563 ed. cited
Werner Wolffheim (p. 130); 1563 ed. cited; appraised at 45
Reichsmark

Luscinus, *Musicae institutiones* (1515), 4° upright

- US-I, Rare ML171 .L96 Anonymous German reader (17th cent.), annotations in
German, Latin, and Greek
Horace de Landau (p. 590)
Purchased by US-I c. 1950 from Otto Haas for £75
- Other readers Conrad Gesner (p. 144); likely
Werner Wolffheim (p. 131); appraised at 520 Reichsmark

Luscinus, *Musurgia* (1536), 4° oblong

- US-AAu, ML171 .L97 Alfred H. Littleton (1845–1914), English music publisher
Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and
musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
- Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64); appraised together with 3 other
vols. at –/16
Charles Burney (p. 248–49)
Pietro Cerone
Alfred Cortot (p. 116); copy formerly belonged to
Gerolamo d’Adda (1815–1881), Milanese bibliophile,
and Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919), English
painter and collector
Edmond de Coussemaker (pp. 40–41);
Antonfrancesco Doni
Conrad Gesner (p. 149)
Antonio Possevino
Oratio Tigrini

Werner Wolffheim (p 131–32); appraised at 640
 Reichsmark
 Gioseffo Zarlino; *Istitutioni* (1558, p. 290)

Luscinius, *Musurgia* (1542), 4° oblong

F-Pn, VM PIECE 647

André Pirro (1869–1943), French musicologist

Lusitano, *Introduttione* (1553), 4° upright⁴⁷

I-Bc, B.113

“Girolamo Mazzaccheri” (17th/18th cent.), otherwise
 unknown

US-NH, Rare MT55 L971 I6

Pietro Fontata da Brisighella (17th cent.), otherwise
 unknown resident of Emilia-Romagna
 Olivieri Dominici, otherwise unknown

Other readers

Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 37v); likely
 Pietro Cerone
 Antonio Possevino
 Oratio Tigrini

Lusitano, *Introduttione* (1558), 4° upright

D-B, shelfmark unknown

“Lorenzo Schnabel” (18th cent.[?]), otherwise unknown

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2125

“Fra Angelo Pallacio” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
 “magister” at Tarvisio in Friuli-Venezia Giulia

F-Pn, Rés. V 1598

Bibliothèque Royale, then Bibliothèque Impériale

GB-Lbl, Hirsch I.330

“Johannes Saffenius de Nicia” (16th/17th cent.), otherwise
 unknown

I-Bc, B.114

Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and
 bibliographer

I-Fc, shelfmark unknown

“Baccio Lascharini” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown

I-FOc, shelfmark unknown

Wilhelm Heyer (1849–1913), paper manufacturer and
 music curator at Cologne
 Carlo Piancastelli (1867–1938), Italian art collector

⁴⁷ Provenance histories for most copies come from Canguilhem, *Chanter sur le livre*, 124–126.

US-CAh, Typ 525 58.868	Antonio Maria Abbatini (1595–1679), Italian composer
Other readers	Alfred Cortot (p. 116)

Lusitano, *Introduttione* (1561), 4° upright

GB-Lbl, 557*.c.22	John Hawkins (1719–1789), English music historian; presented to GB-Lbl on 30.v.1778.
I-Ac, shelfmark unknown	“Remigius” (16th cent.), an otherwise unknown priest at Tripalda in Campania
I-Bc, B.115	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
I-Mc, shelfmark unknown	Convent of St. Francis at Tarvisio in Friuli-Venezia Giulia
I-Rc, Vol. misc. 63	Unknown reader with stamped monogram HGG; in binder’s vol. totaling 9 prints, 1561–1703
I-Rsc, G.CS.5.E.18	“Archivio musicale Orsino” (16th/17th cent.), otherwise unknown
US-NYp, Drexel 3834	“Virginius de Comis” (16th cent.), an otherwise unknown priest in the Order of St. Jerome “Joannes Paulus” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown Genoese notary Joseph William Drexel (1833–1888), U.S. banker and book collector
Other readers	Henry Wellesley (1791–1866), scholar, antiquarian, and curator of the Bodleian Library; copy bound with Aaron, <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545) and Aiguino, <i>La illuminata</i> (1562); copy sold in 1866 to Bernard Quaritch for £4.17s.6d ⁴⁸

Machold, *Compendium germanico-latinum musices* (1596), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 14 in a large binder’s vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)

⁴⁸ *Catalogue of the...Library of...Dr. Wellesley*, 20.

Magirus, *Artis musicae* (1596), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 2 other
 vols. at –/16
 Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
 Thomas Morley
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 133); appraised at 50 Reichsmark

Mareschall, *Porta musices* (1589), 4° oblong

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181)

Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis philologiae et septem artibus liberalibus* (1498), 2°

Other readers Alfred Cortot (p. 44); 1500 ed. mentined
 Vincenzo Galilei (p. 56)
 John IV of Portugal (pp. 120–21)
 Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde (1540–1598),
 Dutch diplomat and writer, auctioned at Brussels on
 6.vii.1599⁴⁹
 Antonio Possevino
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 87); appraised at 500 Reichsmark

Martin, *Elementorum musices* (1550), 4° oblong

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)

Martinez de Bizcargui, *Arte de canto llano* (1549), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case 3A 729 Alfred Cortot (p. 23)

Other readers Pietro Cerone; likely
 John IV of Portugal (p. 124)
 Antonio Possevino
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 136); 1531 ed. cited; appraised at
 800 Reichsmark

Montanos, *Arte de canto llano* (1594), 4° upright

Other readers John IV of Portugal (p. 119)

⁴⁹ Philips of Marnix, *Geschriften*, 163.

Montanos, *Arte de música theórica y práctica* (1592), 4° upright

Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely John IV of Portugal (p. 121) Werner Wolffheim (p. 144); appraised at 600 Reichsmark
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Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597), 2°

GB-R, Reserve Folio 781-MOR	Marmaduke Overend (d. 1790), English composer; dated 1756 at Isleworth
US-LAuc, Chrzanowski 1608m	John Cary (fl. 18th/19th cent.), otherwise unknown Paul Chrzanowski (b. 1948), Californian physicist and collector; donated to US-LAuc in 2009
US-Ws, STC 18133 copy 1	“Thomas Toullstoun” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown “Ego sum ex Libris Cornicula Formosæ Philotritis” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown “William Northall his book” (17th cent.), probably not the 19th-cent. English theatrical critic of the same name Robert Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937), British businessman and bibliophile Copy purchased by Bernard Quaritch from Hodgson on 18.xii.1938; purchased by US-Ws from Bernard Quaritch on 27.xii.1938
US-Wcm, MT6 .A2 M84	Anonymous reader (18th cent.); extensive annotations in English, including comments, shopping list, and work schedule, dated i.1718
US-Ws, STC 18133 copy 2	Anonymous reader (17th cent.), moderate annotations in English Purchased by US-Ws from Pickering and Chatto in 1923
Other readers	Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 65) Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 285)

Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1608), 2°

GB-R, Reserve Folio 781-MOR	Godfrey Edward Pellew Arkwright (1864–1944), British musicologist
US-Wcm, MT6 .A2 M86	Unknown reader with monogram IL (date uncertain) John Mellon (19th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1843

	St. Martin's Hall Library (established 1850), a subscription-based lending library of music and musical literature; dated 1850 Acquired by US-Wcm on 8.iii.1904
US-Ws, STC 18134 copy 2	Henry Rowley Bishop (1786–1855), English composer, music director of Covent Garden, and professor at Edinburgh and Oxford; dated 1827 at Bath; gift of “J. W. W.,” otherwise unknown Charles Dance (fl. 1830–1840), presumably the English dramatist; gift of Bishop in 1830 John Ella (1802–1888), English violinist and concert promoter; gift of Dance in 1853
Other readers	Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), Dutch philosopher, scientist, and schoolmaster at Dordrecht ⁵⁰ Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 285) Werner Wolffheim (pp. 145–46); appraised at 300 Reichsmark

Negri, *Nuove invenzioni di balli* (1604), 4° upright

Other readers	Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 40) Horace de Landau (p. 592)
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Orgosino, *Musica nova* (1603), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 15 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/16 Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181)

Ornitoparchus, *Micrologus* (1519), 4° upright

US-Bp, M.149a.42	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); moderate annotations in Latin in a German hand Anonymous reader (18th/19th cent.); missing final leaf supplied in manuscript
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⁵⁰ Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185.

Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of
Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier

US-Cn, Case 4A 1007 “Elias [illeg.]” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1651
Alfred Cortot (p. 144)

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64); 1533 ed. cited; appraised at –/10
Charles Burney (p. 247–48); 1535 ed. also cited
Pietro Cerone; likely
Conrad Gesner (p. 140); 1535 ed. cited
Giovanni Maria Lanfranco
Thomas Morley
Antonio Possevino
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 199); 1535 ed. cited
Werner Wolffheim (p. 151); appraised at 1,250 Reichsmark

Ornitoparchus *Micrologus*, (1609), 2°

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 248)
Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 286)

Padovani, *Institutiones* (1578), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case 4A 1011 Alfred Cortot (p. 145)

Other readers Horace de Landau (p. 592)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 152); appraised at 100 Reichsmark

Paix, *Kurzer...Bericht* (1589), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 69); appraised together with 3 other
vols. at –/8
Paul Bolduan (cross-listed, pp. 26/179 and 28/180)

Papius, *De consonantiis* (1581), 8°

B-Gu, BIB.ACC.028874 Several former shelfmarks defaced (17th–19th cent.)
Anonymous reader (19th cent.), otherwise unknown;
purchased at Paris in iii.1866 for 5.25 francs; same
reader notes that the copy of Charles-Auguste van
Coetsem (1788–1865) was sold at auction at Ghent in
1866 for 52 francs

B-Gu, BIB.G.007926 Unknown armorial stamp (17th/18th cent.)

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2520	“In usum FF. Mettensium” (16th/17th cent.), otherwise unknown French monastery at Metz
E-Msi, BH FLL 10362	Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús (established late 16th cent., dissolved 1767) University of Alcalá, library (established 1776, dissolved 1836 and transferred to E-Msi)
US-AAu, ML171 .P22	Stamp of “BIBLIOTECA CAPVCINORVM CONCEPTIONIS NEAPOLIS,” probably the monastic library of Santa Maria della Concezione a Montecalvario, Naples (established 1570) Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
Other readers	Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), Dutch philosopher, scientist, and schoolmaster at Dordrecht ⁵¹ Paul Bolduan (cross-listed, pp. 22/177 and 74/203) Pietro Cerone; likely Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 81) Antonio Possevino; likely Simon Stevin (1548–1620), Dutch mathematician and engineer ⁵² J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 195) Werner Wolffheim (p. 153); copy formerly belonged to “M. A. Principis Borghesii,” probably one of several princes of Sulmona (a familial title held since 1610) named Marcantonio Borghese; appraised at 80 Reichsmark Gioseffo Zarlino; <i>De tutte l’opere</i> (1589, 1:303)

Philomathes, *Musicorum libro quattuor* (1512), 8°

Other readers	Conrad Gesner (p. 145) Thomas Selle (p. 72)
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Plutarch, *Les Oeuvres meslées de Plutarque* (1584), 8°

Other readers	Alfred Cortot (p. 152)
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⁵¹ Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185.

⁵² Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 187.

Plutarch, *Prooemium in musicam* (1507), 8°

Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Cortot (p. 152); 1544 ed. cited; copy formerly belonged to Collège de La Marche (established 1362, dissolved 1790) Vincenzo Galilei (p. 83) Conrad Gesner (p. 136) Antonio Possevino; likely
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Podio, *Ars musicorum* (1495), 2°⁵³

E-Bbc, 11.VII.15	Fully rubricated Anonymous reader (16th cent.), annotations in Latin “Ioseph Iohannes augsburgensi” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; annotations in Latin (different ink and hand as above reader)
E-Mn, Inc. 1518	Handful of rubrications in 17th-cent. hand “Iohannes” (15th cent.), an otherwise unknown Portuguese priest (“iste liber est de hic qui signum suum habet frater blasiosinera[?] portugalsensis”) Anonymous reader (16th cent.), lengthy note in Spanish promising to return copy safe and unmarked Toledo Cathedral
E-Msi, BH INC FL-57	Fully rubricated, apparently same scribe as E-Bbc copy Anonymous reader (16th cent.), annotations in Latin Biblioteca de Filosofia y Letras, Madrid, a now-closed departmental library at E-Msi
Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely John IV of Portugal (p. 117)

Pontio, *Dialogo* (1595), 4° upright

US-AAu, MT55 .P82	Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864), German composer Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-Cn, Case oMT 55 .P8 1595	James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books Werner Wolffheim (p. 158); appraised at 30 Reichsmark

⁵³ The printers of this book left places for diagrams and musical examples to be added in manuscript. Entries below record the state of rubrication.

Hedwig Marx-Kirsch-Stiftung, a musicological seminar
(established 1921) at the University of Heidelberg
Alfred Cortot (p. 154)
Geneviève Thibault (1902–1975), French musicologist

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 74); appraised together with 10 other
 vols. at 1/30
 Pietro Cerone
 Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 65)
 Horace de Landau (p. 596)

Pontio, *Ragionamento di musica* (1588), 4° upright

Other readers Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 8r, 59v); likely
 Charles Burney (p. 175–76)
 Pietro Cerone
 Horace de Landau (p. 596)
 Antonio Possevino

Postel, *Musices ex theorica ad praxim* (1552), 1°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)

C. Praetorius, *Erotemata renovatae musicae* (1581), 4° upright

Other readers Horace de Landau (p. 596)
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 158); appraised at 125 Reichsmark

Prasperg, *Clarissima plane* (1501), 4° upright

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 1256 Anonymous reader (16th cent.); rubricated entire vol. in red
 and yellow

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
 Alfred Cortot (p. 155)
 Conrad Gesner (pp. 140–41)
 Werner Wolffheim (pp. 159–60); 1504 ed. cited; appraised
 at 550 Reichsmark

Puteanus, *Modulata pallas* (1599), 8°

US-AAu, ML171 .P98 Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and
 musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954

Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25) Pietro Cerone; likely Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 70) Werner Wolffheim (p. 162); appraised at 30 Reichsmark
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Puteanus, *Musica pleias* (1600), 4° upright

Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 204/77)
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Quercu, *Opusculum musices* (1509), 8°

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 76); 1516 ed. cited; no appraisal Alfred Cortot (p. 160); 1513 ed. cited Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 62); 1513 ed. cited Conrad Gesner (pp. 145 and 153) Werner Wolffheim (pp. 162–63); 1513 ed. cited; copy formerly belonged to “C. Inglis,” otherwise unknown; appraised at 650 Reichsmark
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Quitschreiber, *Musicbüchlein für die Jugend* (1607), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 10 in a large binder’s vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/16; another copy appraised together with 5 vols. at –/24 Paul Bolduan (pp. 30/181); 1605 ed. also cited (ghost ed.)

Ramis de Pareia, *Musica practica* (1482), 4° upright

I-Bc, A.80	Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522), Italian music theorist and composer
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545, sig. 2A2v), <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. 2B3r), <i>Toscanello</i> (1523, sig. F1r) Charles Burney (p. 155) Pietro Cerone; likely Antonio Possevino Francisco de Salinas (pp. 224, 228)

Raselius, *Hexachordum* (1589), 8^o

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 2700

Michael Sonleuthner (fl. late 16th cent.), rector of
gymnasium at Amberg; gift of author dated 14.i.1589

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 68, 69); appraised at -/12; another
copy appraised together with 4 other vols. at -/42
Paul Bolduan (pp. 22/177)
Thomas Morley

Reinhard, *Musica* (1604), 8^o

Other readers

St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67); appraised together with 2 other
vols. at -/16
Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)⁵⁴
Thomas Selle (p. 72)

Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1535), 4° upright

I-Bu, A.4.L.10.33

Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), Bolognese natural
historian

Other readers

Charles Burney (p. 247)
Pietro Cerone
Alfred Cortot (pp. 164–65); 1508 and 1517 eds. cited;
heavy Latin annotations in 16th-cent. hand in the
former copy
Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 62); 1512 ed. cited
Conrad Gesner (p. 141); 1535 ed. cited
Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde (1540–1598),
Dutch diplomat and writer, auctioned at Brussels on
6.vii.1599⁵⁵
Antonio Possevino
Oratio Tigrini
Werner Wolffheim (p. 165); 1599 ed. cited; appraised at 20
Reichsmark

⁵⁴ Bolduan's entry reads "Guidonis Aretini musica. Lipsiae 1605. V. 8. apud Jonam Rosium."

⁵⁵ Philips of Marnix, *Geschriften*, 165.

Rhau, *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* (1520), 8^{o56}

US-Cn, Case 3A 727	Anonymous reader (16th); light annotations, including the censoring of Protestant names Alfred Cortot (p. 165)
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 1/– Horace de Landau (p. 599); 1532 ed. also cited Werner Wolffheim (p. 166); 1530 ed. cited; appraised at 220 Reichsmark

Rhau, *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* (1538), 8^o

US-Cn, Case MT5.5 .R52 1538	Bound with Rhau, <i>Enchiridion utriusque musicae</i> (1538) and Galliculus, <i>Libellus de compositione</i> (1538) Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist
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Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae* (1530), 8^o

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 7196 p	Achilles Gasser (1505–1577), German physician and astrologer; dated 12.ii.1531 at Lindau; price given as 19 “nummis” (unspecified unit of currency)
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/30 Charles Burney (p. 248); 1536 ed. cited Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Cortot (p. 166); 1552 ed. cited; bound with Galliculus, <i>Libellus de compositione cantus</i> (1551) Conrad Gesner (p. 141) Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), Swiss music theorist and humanist ⁵⁷ Horace de Landau (p. 599); 1532 ed. cited Antonio Possevino Thomas Selle (p. 72); 1538 ed. cited Oratio Tigrini

⁵⁶ Rhau’s *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* is the second part of his *Enchiridion utriusque musicae*; in each edition, Rhau appears to have printed a full title page for both parts. On the basis of surviving copies, it seems likely that Rhau occasionally issued the two parts separately even if they were part of a single edition.

⁵⁷ Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (1547), sig. a4r.

Werner Wolffheim (p. 166); 1546 ed. cited; copy formerly belonged to “Matthaeus Corberus,” otherwise unknown; dated 1600 at Augsburg; appraised at 140 Reichsmark

Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae* (1538), 8°

US-Cn, Case MT5.5 .R52 1538 Bound with Rhau, *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* (1538) and Galliculus, *Libellus de compositione* (1538)
Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist

Roggius, *Musicae practicae* (1566), 8°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29); 1596 ed. also cited.
Pietro Cerone; likely
John IV of Portugal (p. 124); 1596 ed. cited
Werner Wolffheim (p. 168); appraised at 150 Reichsmark

Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (1577), 2°

US-Cn, Vault Case folio V 5 .774 William Horatio Crawford (1815–1888), Irish philanthropist and bibliophile

Other readers Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 11v)
Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43)
Pietro Cerone; likely
Alfred Cortot (p. 176)
John IV of Portugal (p. 117)
Werner Wolffheim (p. 171); appraised at 800 Reichsmark

Scheffer, *Sylvulae musicae* (1603), 8°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)

Schlick, *Exercitatio* (1588), 8°

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
Horace de Landau (p. 604)

Schornburg, *Elementa musica* (1582), 4° oblong

D-Mbs, 4° Mus. th. 1404 J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 199)

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64); appraised together with 3 other vols. at –/16

Sebastiani, *Bellum musicale* (1563), 4° upright

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 72); appraised together with 4 other vols. at 1/12
Alfred Cortot (p. 181)
Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 4)
Werner Wolffheim (pp. 175–76); appraised at 220 Reichsmark

Snegassio, *Isagoges musicae* (1591), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 1 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 178/25)
Charles Burney (p. 252)

Snegassio, *Nova et exquisita monochordi dimensio* (1590), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591 Item 2 in a large binder's vol. of school texts
Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown
German student at an unidentified Latin school

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 252)

Spangenberg, *Quaestiones musicae* (c. 1536), 8°

Other readers St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); 1547 and 1574 eds. cited;
 appraised together with 4 other vols. at –/30; another
 copy appraised together with 5 other vols. at –/24
Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29); 1579 and 1593 eds. cited
J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 197); 1579 ed. cited
Werner Wolffheim (pp. 179–80); 1536 ed. cited;
 respectively appraised at 200 and 180 Reichsmark

Spataro, *Honesta defensio* (1491), 4° upright

Other readers Charles Burney (p. 155)

Spataro, *Tractato* (1531), 4° upright

US-AAu, ML171 .S74	Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-Cn, Case folio V 5 .882	Horace de Landau; not in catalog (acquired after 1890)
Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545, sig. 2A2v), <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. c3r) Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 22r); likely Charles Burney (p. 157) Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Corot (p. 185); copy formerly belonged to Werner Wolffheim (p. 180); appraised at 250 Reichsmark Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Thomas Morley Antonio Possevino; likely Oratio Tigrini

Stomius, *Prima ad musicen instructio* (1537), 8°

Other readers	John IV of Portugal (p. 124)
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Teucher, *De musica* (1590), 8°

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 7 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
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Tigrini, *Compendio della musica* (1588), 4° upright

F-Pn, Rés. V 1536	Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés at Paris (dissolved 1792)
I-Fn, MAGL.19.7.119	“Don Colombino Bardi” (16th cent.), possibly a priest at Montepulciano; dated i.1589 ⁵⁸ “Don Gregorio Piatì” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1614
I-Bu, A.4.Q.9.56	“Orazio Canobbio” (16th cent.), perhaps the editor and promoter of Dante and Petrarch

⁵⁸ A sonnet by “Don Colombino de Bardi, Monaco del’istesso ordine [i.e., Fisico de Monte Pulciano]” appears in Averoni, *Discorsi* (1591), sig. a8v.

US-AAu, MT55 .A2 T57 (copy 2)	Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864), German composer Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-Cn, Case V 55 .875	“P. Cerutti” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown “Joseph Warner” (18th/19th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-Cn on 18.vi.1905
US-Cu, MT55 .T57 RareBk	“Hieronymus Tuschi” (18th cent.), “archidiaconi regiensis,” otherwise unknown “G. Margani” (20th cent.), otherwise unknown; purchased at Turin for £100 on 18.x.1913 Lillian Van Alstyne Carr (1871–1970), Chicago socialite
US-I, Rare MT55 .A26 T56 1588	Anonymous reader (16th cent.), corrections to musical examples in light brown ink Anonymous reader (19th cent.), annotations in Italian and simple binding with marbled endp. Acquired by US-I from the firm of H. Baron (London, established 1949)
US-NH, Rare MT55 T568 C7 1558	Anonymous reader (19th cent.); heavy annotations in German hand; dated 1886 and 1888
US-R, MT55 .T568	Defaced inscription (16th cent.), now illeg. “Ad usum D. Placidi de Prato Amicorumque Suorum” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; light annotations and corrections in Italian Acquired by US-R on 30.xii.1929 from Oppermann
US-Ws, MT 55 T5 Cage	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); moderate corrections and annotations, especially in musical examples Godfrey Edward Pellew Arkwright (1864–1944), British musicologist
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 73); appraised at –/30 Charles Burney (p. 174–75) Pietro Cerone John IV of Portugal (p. 123) Horace de Landau (p. 608)

Tigrini, *Compendio della musica* (1602), 4° upright

I-Rc, Mus 361	Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), Italian priest, composer, and music historian
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US-Cn, Case 4A 1014	Alfred Cortot (p. 191)
US-Wcm, MT55 [.A2] T56	Several defaced inscriptions, including one of “Manino” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-Wcm on 19.ix.1904
Other readers	Werner Wolffheim (p. 186); appraised at 25 Reichsmark

Tinctoris, *Terminorum* (c. 1493), 4° upright

Other readers	Pietro Aaron; <i>Compendiolo</i> (1545, sig. D1r), <i>Lucidario</i> (1545, sig. 2E1r) Charles Burney (p. 153) Pietro Cerone; likely Antonio Possevino Oratio Tigrini
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Tovar, *Libro de musica pratica* (1510), 4° upright

Other readers	Pietro Cerone; likely Antonio Possevino
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Vanneo, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (1533), 2°

US-Cn, Case V 5 .936	Gioseffo Zarlino; autograph notes in additional b. flyl. dated 1542 at Venice; copy formerly bound with Boethius, <i>Opera</i> (1496), now lost; also cited in <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558, p. 279)
US-Wcm, ML171 .V26	Unknown reader with monogram VRB (date uncertain) “Ex lib. George Ord. M” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown Élie Halévy (1760–1826), French poet, author, and father of French opera composer Fromental Halévy Acquired by US-Wcm in 1906 from Liepmannssohn
Other readers	Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 42) Charles Burney (p. 158) Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (pp. 194–95); light annotations in 16th-cent. hand; copy formerly belonged to Jean-Baptiste Théodore Weckerlin (1821–1910), French composer and librarian at Conservatoire de Paris Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 62) Antonfrancesco Doni Conrad Gesner (pp. 144–45)

John IV of Portugal (p. 117)
 Antonio Possevino
 Oratio Tigrini
 Werner Wolffheim (p. 190); numerous annotations in 16th-
 cent. hand; appraised at 225 Reichsmark

Varenius, *De amore dialogus unus* (1503), 8°

Other readers Conrad Gesner (p. 140)

Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (1555), 2°⁵⁹

B-Bc, no shelfmark	Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), Bolognese scholar and musician Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer Guido Richard Wagener (1822–1896), German music collector, item sold to B-Bc from estate in 1902
B-Bc, Fétis 5318 R.P.	François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), Belgian musicologist and composer
E-Bbc, 657 (Manuscripts Pedrell)	Felip Pedrell (1841–1922), Spanish composer and musicologist
F-Pn, Rés. 1621	Bibliothèque de Musique, Menus-Plaisirs du Roi, Paris; purchased 17th cent. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique Unknown reader with motto “Astra virtutis mote scandimus”
GB-Lbl, 785.m.33	John Hawkins (1719–1789), English music historian
GB-Lcm, no shelfmark	Royal Harmonic Society (dissolved 1822)
I-Fr, SEDE.St.10428.1	Adolfo Fumagalli (1828–1856), Florentine pianist and composer; bound with several unidentified music treatises, former shelfmark F.II.10428
I-Nc, 4.1.12	“Giovanni delle Carceri” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown

⁵⁹ Provenance histories for most copies come from Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 230–45.

I-OS, A-14	Giuseppe Niccola d'Albertis (fl. mid-18th cent.), Paduan composer and singer
I-Rn, 69.8.E.7	Three inscriptions, otherwise unknown: "August. Perui. Profp. Podian", "Biblioth. J. Pantal Scho[illeg.]", and "Francesci de R[illeg.]"
I-Rsc, G.CS.1.C.30	Bound with Glarean, <i>De asse</i> (Basel: Michael Isingrinus, 1550) Alfonso Cambi Importuni (1535–1570), Neapolitan writer and poet "Bibl. Dom. Prof. Rom" (18th/19th cent.), otherwise unknown
I-Rsc, G.CS.3.E.11	"Archivio musicale Orsino" (16th/17th cent.), otherwise unknown
I-Rsc, G. CS. 3.F.27 [item 4]	Bound with an excerpt from Cleonides, <i>Harmonicum</i> (1497), an excerpt from Boethius, <i>Opera</i> (1497), and Glarean, <i>Dodecachordon</i> (1547) Santa Maria in Traspontina (established 1587); inscription probably 17th cent.
I-Rvat, Cassimiri.II.173	Raffaele Casimiri (1880–1943), Italian composer and musicologist
I-Vgc, MAL T 227	Francesco Maria Berio (1765–1820), Marchese of Salza, opera librettist William Ward (1750–1823), British peer and politician Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973), Italian composer and musicologist
I-Vnm, Musica 124 [item 2]	Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.), purchased for 6 <i>lire</i> Girolamo Venier, librarian of Biblioteca Marciana (1709–1735), acquired in 1722
P-Ln, Res. 2840.1.A	"Angelo Benedetto" (16th/17th cent.), otherwise unknown Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Lisbon (18th cent.) José Maria de Melo (1756–1818), bishop of Algarve
US-Cn, Vault Case folio V 5 .942	Date of imprint modified to 1557 ("MDLVII") Anonymous reader (17th cent.), possibly French; a slip is tucked into the vol. with a prayer particular to the Lyonesse Rite ("Domine sancta pater omnipotens...ut magnificetur nomen tuum. Amen.")

	Horace de Landau (p. 611) Purchased by US-Cn c. 1950 for [£?]285.
US-NYp, Drexel 2715	Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 64) Joseph William Drexel (1833–1888), U.S. banker and book collector Lenox Library, New York City (dissolved in 1895)
US-NYp, Drexel 2716	“Francesco Sorrelli” (17th cent.[?]), <i>maestro di cappella</i> at Santi Apostoli at Rome “Sig. Bettina [illeg.]dorioa” (18th cent.[?]), otherwise unknown Joseph William Drexel (1833–1888), U.S. banker and book collector Lenox Library, New York City (dissolved in 1895)
US-R, MT40 .V633	“Messer Orsini” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-R on 12.ix.1930 from Liepmannssohn for 450 Marks
US-Wcm, ML171 .V43 Case	Unknown reader, with distinctive stamp with cipher CWT in purple ink (date uncertain) Undated selling price of 200 Marks from firm of Ludwig Rosenthal (Munich) Purchased by US-Wcm in 1904 from Ellis and Elvey (London) for £5.5s.–
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (sig. A1v); likely Charles Burney (pp. 161–62) Pietro Cerone Giusto Fontanini (p. 457); appraised at 28 <i>lire</i> John IV of Portugal (p. 118) Antonio Possevino Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 294) Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 190); copy formerly belonged to James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books; appraised at 225 Reichsmark Apostolo Zeno (1669–1750), Venetian librettist and poet ⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Zeno, *Lettere*, 353–54; in a letter dated 25.ii.1742, Zeno describes Vicentino’s book to Giovanni Poleni (1683–1761), the Marquess of Padua.

Villegas, *Suma de canto llano* (1604), 4^o upright

Other readers John IV of Portugal (p. 119)

Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* (c. 1477), 2^o

Other readers Antonio Possevino

Virdung, *Musica getutsch* (1511), 4° oblong

US-Bp, Brown M.149a.71	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); hand coloration throughout entire vol.
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Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 64); appraised at –/16 Conrad Gesner (p. 149)
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Vogelsang, *Musicae rudimenta* (1542), 8^o

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 3486 Unknown reader (16th cent.), corrections to musical example

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 66); appraised at -/3
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Walter, *Lob und Preiss der löblichen kunst Musica* (1538), 4^o upright

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 71); appraised together with 4 other vols. at -/36
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Wilfflingseder, *Erotemata musices practicae* (1563), 8°

D-Mbs, Mus. th. 3657 J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 196)

D-W, 2.11 Musica (1) Johannes Major (1564–1654), German Lutheran theologian; dated 1584

Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (pp. 67, 72); appraised at 1/12; another copy appraised together with 4 other vols. at 1/12
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Wilfflingseder, *Musica teutsch* (1569), 8^o

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 13 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
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Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 67–68); appraised together with 8 other vols. at –/50; another copy appraised together with 6 other vols. at –/24; another copy appraised together with 5 other vols. at –/24 Paul Bolduan (pp. 180/29)
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Willich, *Brevis introductio* (1603)

US-R, ML171 .S358I 1591	Item 9 in a large binder's vol. of school texts Abraham Ursinus (early 17th cent.), otherwise unknown German student at an unidentified Latin school
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Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179) ⁶¹
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Wollick, *Opus aureum* (1501), 4° upright

US-Bp, M.149a.73	Anonymous reader (16th cent.); moderate annotations in Latin, rubrication, and musical notation Purchased by US-Bp on 25.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
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Other readers	Alfred Cortot (p. 200) Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 61); 1505 ed. cited Giovanni Maria Lanfranco Antonio Possevino; likely Werner Wolffheim (p. 194); appraised at 450 Reichsmark
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Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (1592), 2°

Other readers	Charles Burney (p. 179) Pietro Cerone; likely Alfred Cortot (p. 207); copy bears inscription “Ad usum Ftris Jacobi à S Angelo” John IV of Portugal (p. 116) Thomas Morley Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 295)
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Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (1596), 2°

US-DMurl, ML171 .Z23 1596	Defaced inscription (17th cent.), now illeg.
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⁶¹ Bolduan gives the year of publication as 1604.

	Ludwig Landsberg (1807–1858), German musician and book collector
US-R, ML171 .Z14p	<p>“Bernardino de Mauro” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; dated 1613</p> <p>Wilhelm Heyer (1849–1913), paper manufacturer and music antiquarian</p> <p>Various erased inscriptions, dated 1872 and 1878</p> <p>James E. Matthew (fl. 19th/20th cent.), English bibliophile and book dealer specializing in music books</p> <p>Acquired by US-R on 5.ix.1930 from Liepmannssohn for 151 Reichsmark</p>
Other readers	<p>St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised together with 3 other vols. at 2/50</p> <p>Charles Burney (p. 179–81), labelled incorrectly as the second part of the <i>Pratica</i>, not the second ed. of it</p> <p>Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 65)</p> <p>Horace de Landau (p. 613)</p> <p>Werner Wolffheim (pp. 194–95); appraised at 180 Reichsmark</p>
Zacconi, <i>Prattica di musica...seconda parte</i> (1622), 2°	
Other readers	John IV of Portugal (p 118)
Zanger, <i>Practicae musicae precepta</i> (1554), 4° upright	
D-Mbs, 4° Mus. th. 1788	J. G. von Werdenstein (p. 198)
US-I, Rare ML171 .Z29	<p>“Johannis Zachari Machtij” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown; annotations in Latin</p> <p>Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, acquired before 1795 (two stamps of Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi, one used 1795–1840 and another used prior to that one)⁶²</p>
Other readers	<p>St. Anna-Kirche (p. 69); appraised at –/12</p> <p>Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)</p>

⁶² Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, “Besitzstempel und Supralibros.”

Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and bibliophile⁶³
Werner Wolffheim (p. 195); appraised at 250 Reichsmark

Zappa, *Regulette* (c. 1535), 4° upright

US-Cn, Case ML171 .D44 B7 1540 Bound with Del Lago, *Breve introduttione* (1540)
Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist

Zarlino, *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (1571), 2°

US-AAu, ML171 .Z35	Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
D-Mbs, 4° Mus. th. 2138	Leo Olschki (1861–1940), Italian publisher and antiquarian
F-Pn, Rés. V 545	Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), French statesman and historian
GB-Cfm, no shelfmark	Old shelfmark 24.K.– Charles Spenser (1644–1722), Earl of Sunderland Purchased by GB-Cfm from Bernard Quaritch, ii.1925
GB-Cjc, Kk.2.32(1)	John Newcome (c. 1684–1765), English theologian and Fellow at St. John's College, University of Cambridge; dated 1713; bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573)
I-Bc, C.39b	Bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i> , 1588) Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), Bolognese scholar and musician
US-CHH, VF 7813 Z37d	Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Italian composer; inscription canceled but clearly evident
US-MAL, ML171 .Z37 1571	Francis St John (1634–1705), English lawyer and politician Library stamp (19th cent.) of Kimbolton Castle, family seat of the Dukes of Manchester; library sold 1949
US-PHu, Folio IC55 Za189 571d	Conte Domenico Levera (1738–1817), professor of canon law at University of Bologna

⁶³ Schaal, "Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.," 132.

	<p>Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer Sold to US-PHu by Broude Brothers</p>
US-R, Vault ML171 .Z37d	<p>Bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573) Marmaduke Overend (d. 1790), English composer Arthur Palmer (fl. 19th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-R on 20.i.1927</p>
US-Wcm, ML171 .Z37 1571	<p>Bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i>, 1588) Anonymous reader (18th cent.); heavy annotations in French with citations to other music theorists, especially Rameau Acquired by US-Wcm in 1908</p>
US-Ws, ML 171 Z3 I7 1562	<p>Bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1562) Anonymous reader (17th cent.); moderate corrections and marginalia in Italian and Latin</p>
Other readers	<p>Charles Burney (pp. 161 and 167–68) Pietro Cerone Alfred Cortot (p. 208); copy bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i>, 1588); acquired in 1924 Antonfrancesco Doni Vincenzo Galilei (p. 2) John IV of Portugal (p. 123) Horace de Landau (p. 613) Francisco de Salinas (pp. 231–34) Oratio Tigrini Werner Wolffheim (p. 195); appraised at 60 Reichsmark</p>

Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 568	<p>Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.); Latin inscriptions on front cover in German hand, same as D-Mbs copy of Gaffurius, <i>De harmonia</i> (1518); formerly bound with Fogliano, <i>Musica theórica</i> (1529, now D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 172) and Gaffurius, <i>Practica musicae</i> (1502, now D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 194)</p>
F-Pn, Rés. F 0	<p>Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer</p>
F-TLm, Res. Mus. B.514	<p>San Giorgio Monastery at Venice (dissolved 1806)</p>

	Théodore Nisard (1812–1888), organist at St-Gervais-et-St-Protais Church, Paris
I-Bc, C.39a	Bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrations</i> (1571) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i> , 1588) Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), Bolognese scholar and musician
I-Bu, A.4.Q.1.26/3	Bound with Baptista de Galzaria, <i>Aurem caelimumdium seu liber de caelo et mundo</i> (Bologna: s.n., 1569) Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), Bolognese natural historian
I-Vnm, Musica 124 [item 1]	Anonymous reader (16th/17th cent.), purchased 6 <i>lire</i> ; records of sunrise through each month for a year Girolamo Venier, librarian of Biblioteca Marciana (1709–1735), acquired in 1722
US-Bp, Brown M.388.15	Purchased by US-Bp on 15.ix.1859 from the donation of Joshua Bates (1788–1864), U.S. financier
US-Cn, Case fV 5 .9983	Acquired by US-Cn on 21.i.1889
US-I, Rare ML171 .Z37 ++	Anonymous reader (17th cent.); moderate annotations Anonymous reader (19th cent.); light annotations in pencil Acquired by US-I on 2.iv.1945
US-R, Vault ML 171 .Z37i	“Vinceuis” (16th/17th cent.), otherwise unknown “Goseelin” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown Jean-Baptiste Théodore Weckerlin (1821–1910), French composer and librarian at Conservatoire de Paris
Other readers	Joan Albert Ban (1597–1644), Dutch priest and amateur music theorist ⁶⁴ Charles Burney (pp. 161–67); 1562, 1573, and 1589 eds. also cited Pietro Cerone Carl Czerny (1791–1857), Austrian composer and pianist ⁶⁵ Antonfrancesco Doni Raimond Fugger (1528–1569), Augsburg businessman and bibliophile ⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Rasch, “Simon Stevin en Joan Albert Ban.”

⁶⁵ Kirkendale, “New Roads to Old Ideas,” 677.

⁶⁶ Schaal, “Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger d. J.,” 134.

Vincenzo Galilei (p. 2)
 John IV of Portugal (p. 123)
 Horace de Landau (p. 613)
 Joseph Franz von Lobkowitz (1772–1816), Bohemian
 aristocrat; copy also read by Ludwig van Beethoven
 (1770–1827), German composer⁶⁷
 Thomas Morley
 Andreas Papius (1542–1581), Flemish music theorist and
 composer⁶⁸
 Francisco de Salinas (pp. 231–34)
 Oratio Tigrini
 Johannes van der Elst (c. 1598–1670), Flemish music
 theorist and organist⁶⁹

Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1561), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 571	Inscription of “H. I. V. Laburgess”[?] (18th cent.), otherwise unknown; same inscription appears in Aaron, <i>Compendiolo</i> at D-Mbs
Other readers	St. Anna-Kirche (p. 75); appraised at –/36 Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde (1540–1598), Dutch diplomat and writer, auctioned at Brussels on 6.vii.1599 ⁷⁰

Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1562), 2°

E-Msi, BH FG 163	Francisco Guerra Pérez-Canal (1916–2011), Spanish physician and book collector, copy purchased in 1992 from antiquarian Bruce J. Ramer, donated to E-Msi in 2006
F-Pn, Rés. V 549	“Alfonsus Beneventus” (16th cent.), otherwise unknown
I-Rc, Mus. 557	“Don Alfio Greco” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown; binding dated 1619

⁶⁷ Kirkendale, “New Roads to Old Ideas,” 677.

⁶⁸ Papius, *De consonantiis* (1581), *passim*; and van der Linden, “Gioseffo Zarlino,” 243.

⁶⁹ van der Linden, “Gioseffo Zarlino,” 243.

⁷⁰ Philips of Marnix, *Geschriften*, 164.

I-Rc, Mus. 949	“Hic liber est Petrus [illeg.]” (18th cent.), apparently a student of Luigi Guido Grandi (1671–1742), the Italian philosopher and mathematician
I-Vc, Torrefranca S.A H III 65	“Ad usum sagristia Carinione monforia” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown “Conte Rodolpho Sotti” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown; annotations in Italian Accademia Filarmonica di Verona; doubtful, but given on back free flyl. Fausto Torrefranca (1883–1955), Italian musicologist and bibliophile; library passed to I-Vc upon his death
I-Vc, Stampe ant. tratt.75	Anonymous reader (18th cent.), apparently from Perugia; moderate annotations in Italian
US-CHH, V781.3 Z37i	Settimo Cartocis (fl. 18th cent.), apparently <i>maestro di cappella</i> and mansionary at a church in Rimini (the church’s name is illeg.); dated 1.viii.1740
US-I, Rare ML171 .Z37 ++ 1562	Unknown reader with printed monogram CMF (17th cent.) Unknown reader with stamped monogram PLT (18th cent.) “Jos. de Melis” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown Donald Jay Grout (1902–1987), U.S. musicologist at Cornell University
US-Wcm, ML171 .Z35 1562 case	Gustavo Camillo Galletti (1805–1868), Florentine publisher and book collector Horace de Landau (p. 613)
US-Ws, ML 171 Z3 I7 1562	Bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrazioni</i> (1571) Anonymous reader (17th cent.); moderate corrections and marginalia in Italian and Latin
US-WM, Rare ML171.Z37 I5 1562	Anonymous reader (late 16th cent.); annotations in Italian in light brown ink Anonymous reader (17th cent.); annotations in Italian in dark brown ink, including cancellations of previous reader’s notes Gualfardo Bercanovich (1840–1908), Italian composer, music theorist, and singing teacher
Other readers	Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 295)

Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1573), 2°

D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 580	Caspar Nische (fl. 17th cent.), choir director at St. Martin's Church at Landshut; purchased at Bologna in 1609 for 10 florins Augustinian convent at Munich (18th cent.)
E-Mn, R/14744	Theresa John Cornwallis Whitby (1806–1886), English novelist, copy purchased at Milan for 7 <i>lire</i> , viii.1823 J. L. Ellerton (1807–1873), English amateur composer, inscribed to him by Whitby on 4.iv.1853 Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894), Spanish composer
F-Pm, 2° 4797 B	Bound with Antonio Labacco, <i>Libro appartenente a l'architettura</i> (Venice: Girolamo Porro, 1584) Bibliothèque de Collège de Sorbonne (disbanded 1791)
F-Pn, Rés. V 546	Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), French statesman and historian
GB-Cjc, Kk.2.32(1)	John Newcome (c. 1684–1765), English theologian and Fellow at St. John's College, University of Cambridge; dated 1713; bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrationi harmoniche</i> (1571)
US-AAu, ML171 .Z35 1573	Jean-Auguste Stelfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954
US-DN, ML171 .Z37 1562	“ex dono Joannis ferarij” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown
US-NH, Rare ML171 .Z37 I87+ c.2	Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Italian composer Dragan Plamenac (1895–1983), Croatian musicologist
US-NYq, MT55 .Z23 1573	Arthur Smith-Barry (1843–1925), Irish politician Frances Berry Turrell (1903–1984), U.S. musicologist and pianist; library passed to her son George Charles Turrell (b. 1931) Claude V. Palisca (1921–2001), professor of musicology at Yale University
US-PHu, Folio IC55 Za189 562i	Gaetano Gaspari (1808–1881), Bolognese composer and bibliographer
US-R, Vault ML171 .Z37d	Bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrationi</i> (1571) Marmaduke Overend (d. 1790), English composer Arthur Palmer (fl. 19th cent.), otherwise unknown Acquired by US-R on 20.i.1927

US-Wcm, ML171 .Z37 1571	Bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrations</i> (1571) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i> , 1588) Anonymous reader (18th cent.); heavy annotations in French with citations to other music theorists, especially Rameau Acquired by US-Wcm in 1908
Other readers	Paul Bolduan (pp. 204/77) Alfred Cortot (p. 208); copy bound with Zarlino, <i>Dimostrations</i> (1571) and Zarlino, <i>Sopplimenti</i> (= vol. 3 of <i>De tutte l'opere</i> , 1588); acquired in 1924 Simon Stevin (1548–1620), Dutch mathematician and engineer ⁷¹ Werner Wolffheim (p. 195); appraised at 50 Reichsmark
Zarlino, <i>De tutte l'opere</i>, 4 vols. (1588–1589), 2°	
D-Mbs, 2° Mus. th. 588	Compl. Theatine Church at Munich (18th cent.), identified as “S.S. Adelhaidis et Caietani” Augustinian convent at Munich (18th cent.)
E-Mn, M 223	Vol. 3 only “Ex libris Michaelis Queros M. ^e D. ^{is} ” (18th cent.), otherwise unknown Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894), Spanish composer
F-ASOlang, C.IV.9	Compl. Abraham Verheyen (d. 1619), organist at St. Stephen’s church in Nijmegen ⁷² Ducal library in Gotha; acquired late 18th cent., sold 1932 François Lang (1908–1944), French pianist; purchased at Amsterdam in 1939
F-Pm, 2° 4750	Compl. Séminaire des Missions étrangères de Paris (established 1658)
F-Pm, 2° 8840	Vols. 3–4 only Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), French clergyman and statesman Bibliothèque de Collège de Sorbonne (disbanded 1791)

⁷¹ Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185; and Rasch, “Simon Stevin en Joan Albert Ban.”

⁷² van der Linden, “Gioseffo Zarlino.”

F-Pn, Rés. V 559–561	Vols. 1–3 only Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608–1660), son of Henry IV
I-Bc, C.39c	Vol. 3 only; bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1558) and Zarlino, <i>Dimostrationi</i> (1571) Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), Bolognese scholar and musician
I-Bu, A.4.Q.1.25/1.1	Vols. 1–2, 4 only Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), Bolognese natural historian
I-Rc, Mus. 216.1	Compl. Biblioteca Colonna Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), Italian priest, composer, and music historian
I-Vgc, MAL T 230	Compl. “G. Margani” (20th cent.), otherwise unknown; purchased at Finale Ligure for £400 on 14.vii.1910 Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973), Italian composer and musicologist
NL-Au, OTM OM 63-23	Vol. 3 only “Claude Gaultier” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown French priest
NL-Uu, MAG AA FOL 2	Compl. Evert van de Poll (fl. late 16th cent.), Dutch politician; library dispersed in 1602
NL-Uu, MAG ODZ 4725–7	Vols. 1–3 only Pier Giacomo Bannardini (17th/18th cent.[?]), otherwise unknown Guillaume Pavée de Vendevre (1779–1870), French politician
P-Ln, M.2008.V	Vols. 1–2 only João Batista de Ayello (fl. 17th cent.), priest at San Nicolò da Tolentino, Palermo Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Lisbon (18th cent.) José Maria de Melo (1756–1818), bishop of Algarve

US-DMurl, E q#3	Vols. 1–2, 4 only Charles de Hoffmann (fl. 19th cent.), Belgian nobleman and insurance magnate
US-PHu, Folio IC55 Z1808 589t	Compl. “Ad usum Gioseph. M[illeg.]” and “Don Giuseppe” (17th cent.), otherwise unknown
US-Wcm, ML171 .Z33 1589	Compl. Several defaced inscriptions on title page (16th–18th cent.) Anonymous reader (16th cent.); moderate annotations and corrections in Italian Acquired by US-Wcm in 1905
US-Wcm, ML171 .Z37 1571	Vol. 3 only; bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573) and Zarlino, <i>Dimostrationi</i> (1571) Anonymous reader (18th cent.); heavy annotations in French with citations to other music theorists, especially Rameau Acquired by US-Wcm in 1908
Other readers	Giovanni Maria Artusi (fol. 25v–26r, 66r–66v) Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), Dutch philosopher, scientist, and schoolmaster at Dordrecht; vols. 1–3 cited by title ⁷³ Pierre-Jean Burette (p. 43); compl. Charles Burney (p. 161) Paul Bolduan (pp. 204/77) Pietro Cerone; vol. 3 only ⁷⁴ Alfred Cortot (p. 208); vol. 3 only; copy bound with Zarlino, <i>Istitutioni</i> (1573) and Zarlino, <i>Dimostrationi</i> (1571); acquired in 1924 Edmond de Coussemaker (p. 64); compl., but dates of publication given as 1573–1589, suggesting that vol. 1 (<i>Istitutioni</i>) of his set was the second, not third ed. of that work Giusto Fontanini (pp. 456–57); compl.; appraised at 60 <i>lire</i> Vincenzo Galilei; <i>Discorso intorno all’opere di Gioseffo</i> <i>Zarlino</i> (1589, <i>passim</i>) Antonio Possevino; vols. 1–3 cited by title Sacred Harmonic Society (p. 295)

⁷³ Rasch, “Six Seventeenth-Century Dutch Scientists,” 185.

⁷⁴ Cerone also mentions the apocryphal *De re musica* and *Perfetto musico*. The latter is attested only in the *Dimostrationi* (1571), 311. In the complete works edition (*De tutte l’opere*, 2:287), Zarlino also refers to the latter as *Il melopeo*, suggesting a stronger connection between the intellectual ambitions and achievements of Zarlino and Cerone, whose treatise is titled *El melopeo y maestro* (1613).

Cornelius Schuyt (1557–1616), composer and organist at
St. Peter's church in Leiden⁷⁵
Thomas Selle (p. 72)

Zuccolo, *La pazzia del ballo* (1549), 4^o upright

Other readers	Horace de Landau (p. 614)
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Anonymous, *Cantorinus* (c. 1505), 4° upright

GB-Lbl, K.1.g.10	Bound with Bonaventura of Brescia, <i>Regula musice plane</i> (1507) Pietro Aaron (not cited in one of his books)
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Other readers	Edmond de Cousse-maker (p. 73); 1538 and 1566 eds. cited Antonfrancesco Doni Horace de Landau (p. 558); 1513 and 1549 eds. cited Werner Wolffheim (p. 87); 1513 and 1549 eds. cited; appraised respectively at 150 and 80 Reichsmark
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Anonymous, *Cantorinus* (1549), 8^o

US-AAu, MT 860 .A2 C74 1549	<p>“Sor. Hortensia Stropi” (18th/19th cent.), otherwise unknown</p> <p>Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), Belgian jurist and musicologist; purchased by US-AAu in 1954</p>
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US-Cn, Case MT860 .C66 1549	Howard Mayer Brown (1930–1993), U.S. musicologist
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Anonymous, *Ideae musicae artificio* (1601), 4° upright

Other readers Paul Bolduan (pp. 26/179)

⁷⁵ Rasch and Wind, “The Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt,” 343.

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- D-Mu, 8° Cod. Ms. 375. A miscellany of medieval music treatises compiled during the thirteenth-century, owned and annotated by Heinrich Glarean.
- E-Mn, Codex 6486. Two music treatises by Gaspar Stoquer, *De musica verbali libri duo* and *De vera solfizationisi*. c. 1570.
- E-VAu, Ms. 835. Johannes Tinctoris, compilation of nine music treatises (in order): *Expositio manus*, *De natura et proprietate tonorum*, *De notis et pausis*, *De regulari valore notarum*, *De imperfectione notarum musicalium*, *De alteratione notarum*, *De punctis*, *De arte contrapuncti*, and *Proportionale musices*. c. 1483–1485.
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¹ This bibliography of primary sources, although extensive in scope, encompasses only works cited in this dissertation. For wider coverage, see RISM; and Davidsson, *Bibliographie der Musiktheoretischen Drucken*.

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